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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

VOL. XXII.

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TWENTY-SECOND VOLUME.

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C O N T E N T S

THE

MODERN PART

OF

Universal History.

CHAP. LXIX.

The History of Italy.

SECT. I.

Containing the Transactions of Charlemagne and his Successors in this Country.

WE have seen in the preceding history of France, in what manner the ambition and conquests of the Lombards, together with the negligence of the emperors of the East, obliged the popes to have recourse to the kings of the Franks for protection. Charlemagne, after taking Desiderius their king prisoner, and reducing Pavia, their capital, was crowned king of Italy, at Monza, by the archbishop of Milan. Having confirmed to the popes the dominions first granted to them by his father Pepin, he received the allegiance of the rest of Lombardy, which included not only Piedmont, the Milanese, the Mantuan, the territory of Genoa, Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and Bologna, but also the dukedoms of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, which last comprehended the greatest part of the present kingdom of Naples, and,

A. D. 774.

Italy subdued by the Franks. Charlemagne crowned king of Italy.

and, on account of its extent, was called Longobardia Minor (A).

Charlemagne having thus conquered all Italy, excepting ſome of the ſouthern provinces, which ſtill continued under the dominion of the emperor at Conſtantinople, he returned to France, taking with him Deſiderius, who, according to Blondus [a], was baniſhed to Liege; but others
A. D. 776. ſay he was confined in the monaſtery of Corbie. Upon the departure of Charles, the dukes of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, who had ſubmitted to the Franks only becauſe they were not able to reſiſt them, revolted from their allegiance, and declared themſelves ſovereigns in their territories [b]; but Charlemagne, who was then engaged in a war with the Saxons, being informed of their rebellion by pope Adrian, marched, though in the middle of winter, with his army into Italy, and having defeated Rotgand, duke of Friuli, whom he afterwards beheaded, by this victory ſtopped the progreſs of the revolt, and forced the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento to a ſubmiſſion. As they had not openly appeared in arms, he continued them in their dukedoms, and contented himſelf with a renewal of their allegiance; but he added the cities of the dukedom of Friuli to his kingdom, and gave the command of them to Franks and Auſtraſians.

The Lombards revolt, and again reduced by Charlemagne.

Charles having thus ſettled the affairs of Italy, returned to France, and was engaged the three following years in reducing the Saxons, and oppoſing the Saracens in Spain; but hearing that the Lombards threatened to revolt in favour of Adalgiſe, the ſon of their former king Deſiderius, whom they expected with a fleet and army from Conſtantinople, he reſolved again to viſit Italy; and taking his wife Hildegarde, and his two youngeſt ſons, along with
A. D. 780. him, he arrived at Pavia about Chriſtmas [c]. Soon after he called an aſſembly of the States, both clergy and laity, and with their advice publiſhed a body of laws, which are ſtill extant, for the puniſhment of murder, robbery, and perjury, and to regulate the ſuperiority of lords over their

[a] Blond. D. ii. lib. 1. [b] Codex Car. cap. 59. [c] Sigon, lib. iv. p. 91.

(A) As all the important events that diſtinguiſhed this period of the Italian hiſtory, are connected with the hiſtory of France, in which we have recorded them, we ſhall only touch upon them here in ſuch a manner as to avoid unneceſſary repetition.

vaſſals.

vassals. After the publication of these laws, he dismissed the assembly, and continued his journey to Rome, being received with many honours by all the cities through which he passed. At Rome pope Adrian was no less solicitous to receive him in a royal manner; Charles desiring both his sons to be crowned, the eldest of them was baptized by the name of Pepin, and the day following, being Easter Sunday, they were both crowned by the pope, Pepin being declared king of Lombardy, and Lewis of Aquitaine [d]. After this ceremony, Charles quitted Rome, and caused his son Pepin to be again crowned at Monza, with the iron crown, by the archbishop of Milan; then leaving him in Italy, with a governor, and the officers necessary for his household, he himself returned to Germany, to be present at the diet at Worms.

A. D. 781.

Charlemagne causes his son Pepin to be crowned king of Lombardy.

The first years of the reign of Pepin were remarkable for their tranquility, and for the many salutary laws which were then published: but this calm was soon interrupted by the intrigues of the empress Irene; who being jealous of the growing power of Charlemagne, and displeased to see the Franks masters of Italy, resolved to assist Adalgise, in recovering his father's kingdom: for this purpose she concluded a secret treaty with Arechis duke of Benevento, and Tassillon duke of Bavaria, both brothers-in-law to Adalgise, who promised to take arms in his favour as soon as he appeared in Italy with an army of Greeks. Charlemagne being informed of this league by the pope, immediately marched with his army over the Alps, and arrived at Florence, where he celebrated his Christmas, and ordered the city, which had been ruined by Totila, king of the Goths, to be rebuilt. From Florence he marched to Rome, and was there met by Romuald, the eldest son of Arechis, who was sent by his father to beg a peace; but Charles, by the advice of the pope, refusing his request, detained Romuald, and marching into Campania, took the city of Capua. Arechis being informed of this exploit, quitted Benevento, and retired to Salerno, upon the sea-coast, from whence he sent a second embassy to Charles, suing for peace, which was granted him, upon condition of paying a yearly tribute to Pepin, of delivering up his treasure, and of giving his second son Grimoald and his daughter Adeleisa, as hostages for his fidelity [e]. Arechis did not long survive this peace, but died in the autumn, and his eldest son being likewise dead, Charle-

A league formed by Irene for the restoring of Adalgise; prevented by the arrival of Charlemagne in Italy.

[d] Baron, ad an. 781.

[e] Leo Ost. lib i. cap. 16.

magne sent Grimoald from France, who was received by the Beneventans with the utmost demonstrations of joy.

Charlemagne, upon his return to Germany, resolved to punish the revolt of Tassillon, and ordered an army of Franks and Saxons to assemble at the Danube, while he himself with another body marched to the river Lech, and his son Pepin, with an Italian army, marched into the Trentine. Tassillon finding himself surrounded, came and submitted to Charles, who pardoned him upon his renewing his allegiance, and giving his son Theodon and twelve other persons as hostages: but the year following, being accused by the diet of having invited the Hunns to invade the Franks, in consequence of his league with Arechis and Irene, he was condemned to be shut up in a cloister
A. D. 788. the rest of his life, with his son Theodon. The Hunns, who had been solicited by Tassillon, raised two armies,
The Hunns invade Germany and Italy, but are defeated. and this year, according to their promise, invaded Germany and Friuli; but were defeated in both countries, and obliged to return to Pannonia with great loss.

While Pepin was engaged in opposing the Hunns, he was informed by Grimoald, prince of Benevento, that the Greeks intended to invade Italy, in favour of Adalgise, because Charlemagne had refused to give his daughter to Constantine, though she had been betrothed to him several years before (B). In revenge for which affront, the emperor determined to expel the Franks from Italy, hoping that the Italians would take arms to support the son of
Adalgise invades Italy, is defeated, and put to death. their former king, he gave orders to Theodore the patrician, prefect of Italy, to transport a strong army into Calabria, along with which went Adalgise. Soon after the landing of the Greeks, Grimoald, who had preferred his allegiance to Pepin to his affinity with Adalgise, being

(B) This is the account of Sigonius; but Eginhard and Theophanes say, that the match was broke off by the emperor's mother Irene, who being afraid lest the young empress should ruin her authority, and persuade Constantine to rule by himself, rejected the alliance of the Franks, whom she hated, and obliged her son, contrary to his inclination, to marry an Armenian woman of obscure birth. But from Theophanes it appears to us, that this rupture with the Franks was owing to the intrigues of Adalgise, at the court of Constantinople, who hoped, that if he could prevent the intended match, and prevail with the emperor to declare war against the Franks, he might by these means recover the kingdom of his ancestors.

joined

joined by Hildebrand duke of Spoleto, and Vinigise, general of Pepin, with the forces under their command, he attacked the invaders in Calabria, where, after an obstinate dispute, he entirely routed them, and took all their baggage, and many prisoners, among whom was Adalgise, who was put to death [f]. Notwithstanding this great service of Grimoald, we find, that four years afterwards, by the persuasion of his mother, he renounced his allegiance to the Franks. Charlemagne being informed of his defection, sent his son Lewis, king of Aquitaine, against him, who passing the Alps by mount Cenis with his army, and joining his brother Pepin at Ravenna, they marched together into the duchy of Benevento, where they ravaged the country, and returned home with their army towards the end of winter. A. D. 793. *Grimoald revolts, but is reduced by Pepin and Lewis.*

Two years afterwards, pope Adrian dying, Leo was chosen in his stead, who, the day after his consecration, sent an embassy to Charlemagne, acquainting him of his election, and transmitting to him the keys of the confession of St. Peter, and the standard of the city. He likewise desired Charlemagne [g] to send one of his nobles to Rome, to take the oath of allegiance from the Romans: by which it appears, that, notwithstanding the great patrimony granted to the see of Rome by Charlemagne, and his father Pepin, the popes had not yet assumed the character of independent sovereigns; but as they had renounced their allegiance to the emperor, they sheltered themselves under the protection of their benefactor the king of the Franks.

The Hunns at this time, by their frequent incursions, infesting Italy, Charlemagne created one Henry, a Frank by nation, duke of Friuli, who soon after raising an army, marched into Pannonia, and having defeated several of their generals, took and plundered the royal palace, sending the wealth he found in it to Charlemagne. The same year Pepin likewise invaded Hungary, and having driven the enemy beyond the Thysse, and enriched his army with spoil, he afterwards went to Aix la Chapelle, and returned the beginning of the next year to Italy, where he was soon after informed, that Irene had caused her son Constantine to be imprisoned, and his eyes to be put out, so that he died in three days after this cruel operation. *The duke of Friuli invades Pannonia.*

[f] Sigon. lib. iv. p. 94.

[g] Sigon. ubi supra.

A. D. 799.

Pope Leo is assaulted, in Rome, and obliged to seek protection of Charlemagne.

In the following year great disturbances happened at Rome, a conspiracy having been formed against the pope by some relations of Adrian, who were offended at his promotion. The conspirators having formed their plot, attacked the pope in the church of St. Stephen, on St. George's day, as he was preparing to celebrate the service for that saint. Having thrown him down, they stripped him of his robes, and wounded him in several places; after which they thrust him, half dead, into the monastery of St. Erasmus, under a strong guard: but Alcuin, one of the domestics of Leo, having found means to deceive the guard, brought his master from thence at night, and conducted him to the church of St. Peter. In the mean time the news of the assault being carried to Vinigise, the duke of Spoleto, who had succeeded Hildebrand, he hastened to Rome with an army, and brought the pope safe to Spoleto, from whence he went to Germany, where he was received with great honour by Charlemagne, and after staying some months was sent back to Rome, with an honourable escort of nobles and bishops [h].

A. D. 800.

Charlemagne marches into Italy;

Charlemagne, being afraid lest the faction that opposed Leo might apply to the emperor for protection, resolved to quiet the disturbances at Rome in person; therefore having settled the affairs of Germany, in the beginning of autumn he marched into Italy; but before he proceeded to Rome, he went to Tarsatz, in Illyricum, where he punished the murderers of Henry duke of Friuli, who had been assassinated in that city the year before. Having appointed Cadolachus duke of Friuli, he marched from thence to Ancona, from whence he sent Pepin, with part of his army, against Grimoald, who had again revolted, while he himself went to Rome, to determine the cause of Leo. On the day appointed for the trial, the bishops refusing to judge their superior, the pope cleared himself, by swearing upon the Gospels that he was not guilty of the crimes laid to his charge. After this oath he was declared innocent, by the voices of the whole assembly. He then consulted with the senators of Rome, how they might express their gratitude to Charlemagne; and agreed to revive in his favour the title of emperor of the Romans. On Christmas-day, when he had entered the Vatican church, and was kneeling at the altar, the pope threw a rich cloak over his shoulders, and putting a golden crown upon his head, proclaimed him Augustus, crowned by

[h] Sigon. lib. iv. p. 96. Baron. ad an. 799.

God,

God, the great and most pious emperor of the Romans, which title was thrice repeated by the people with loud acclamations. After this ceremony, the emperor applied himself to regulate the affairs of Italy, and of the church, having during the winter added some new laws to the former edicts of the Lombards, and likewise increased the institutions of the church. About the middle of April, he left Rome, and having given audience to the Persian ambassador near Vercelli, he passed the Alps and returned to Germany. In the mean time the war in the duchy of Benevento was carried on with various success; though Pepin had taken and plundered some towns, yet Grimoald having taken Luceria, and made Vinigise prisoner, Pepin concluded a truce with him for some time, in consequence of which Vinigise was set at liberty, and Pepin spent the winter with his father at Aix la Chapelle. During his absence, the Saracens from Africa and Spain, having infested the coast of Italy, and seized on the island of Corsica, Pepin, upon his return, sent a fleet to Corsica, which attacking them unexpectedly, forced them to retire with loss. Soon after Nicetas the patrician arriving in the Adriatic with a fleet from Constantinople, to support a faction of the Venetians, who inclined to the eastern empire, Pepin resolved to protect those who continued faithful to his father; but Nicetas, hearing of his preparations, concluded a truce with him, and returned to Constantinople. In the course of the same year he sent another fleet against the Saracens, who still infested Corsica, and an engagement ensuing, the infidels were entirely defeated, with the loss of thirteen ships. In the following year the truce being expired with the Greeks, Nicephorus sent a strong fleet into the Adriatic, and likewise another into the lower sea, which took and plundered Populonium, a city of Hetruria [i], while the other landing their forces, and being joined by the Venetians, attacked Comaclo; but after an obstinate dispute, they were repulsed by Pepin's army; upon which the Greeks retired to Venice, and endeavoured to conclude a peace with Pepin, by means of the republic, which was prevented by the intrigues of Obalerius, or, according to Blondus, Ubelerius, formerly duke of Venice, but at this time in banishment, on account of his favouring the Franks [k]. The Saracens, encouraged by these dissensions among the Christians,

and crowned emperor of the Romans by the pope.

A. D. 801.

A. D. 804.

Pepin goes to Aix la Chapelle, but returns to Italy, and sends a fleet against the Saracens.

A. D. 806.

The Greeks and Venetians attack Comaclo but are defeated.

A. D. 807.

The Saracens invade Sardinia.

[i] Blond. Dec. ii. lib. 2. p. 902.

[k] Blond. ubi supra. Sigon. lib. iv.

again invaded Corsica and Sardinia, and attacking the city of Aleria, after having plundered it, they carried off all the inhabitants as captives, leaving only the bishop and a few old men.

A war betwixt Pepin and the Venetians.

Next year the war betwixt Pepin and the Venetians was carried on with great vigour; Pepin being offended that the Venetians, on account of their commerce, had renewed their alliance with Nicephorus, the eastern emperor, without his knowlege, resolved to attack them by sea and land. The issue of this war, was not favourable to Pepin, who having assembled his forces at Ravenna, embarked his troops, and immediately took Brondulum, Clodia, Palestrina, and Albiola, and from thence sailed to Metamaucum, which was then the residence of the dukes. The inhabitants of this city being astonished at the rapid progress of the enemy, quitted their habitations, and putting their effects on board their boats, retired to the islands Rialto and Olivola, which were protected from the attack of great vessels by the shallowness of the water around them. Pepin finding nothing but empty houses at Metamaucum, and being informed of the place whither the Venetiens had retired, resolved to attack those islands; but as they were inaccessible to his ships, he assembled all the boats he could find in the neighbouring rivers, and adding some rafts, put his men on board.

Is succeeded by his son Bernard.

The death of Pepin greatly affected the emperor, who determined to give the kingdom of Italy to Bernard; and as Italy was threatened with an invasion from the Saracens, he concluded a peace with the emperor Nicephorus, and ceded to him all sovereignty over Venice [l]. Two years afterwards, being informed that the Moors were making great preparations to invade Italy, he immediately sent Bernard with an army into that kingdom, joining with him Wala, governor of Saxony, and brother of Adalard, abbot of Corbie, who had distinguished himself by the prudence of his administration during the reign of Pepin. The Moors hearing of Bernard's arrival in Italy, turned their arms against Corsica and Sardinia, but were almost entirely cut off in Sardinia, very few of them escaping to Spain and Africa. This same year likewise, A. D. 812. Grimoald, prince of Benevento, concluded a peace with the emperor, consenting to pay a yearly tribute of twenty-seven thousand crowns of gold [m]. Notwithstanding the

Grimoald submits and becomes tributary.

[l] Pithœus Ann. Frank. Sigon. lib. iv. p. 103. [m] Sigon. ubi supra.

great

great loſs the Saracens had ſuſtained in Sardinia, they next year, invaded Corſica; but in their return to Spain, were attacked at ſea by Ermengarius, governor of Majorca for the king of Italy, who took eight of their ſhips, and recovered five hundred Chriſtian captives. To indemnify themſelves for this loſs, they ſailed to Civita Vecchia, which they took and plundered. Afterwards landing in Provence, they attacked and plundered Nice; but in their return landing upon Sardinia, they were defeated and repulſed to their ſhips, ſeveral of which they loſt. The weſtern empire at this time enjoying a profound peace, Charlemagne, affected with the loſs of his two ſons Charles and Pepin, ſent for his only ſurviving ſon Lewis, king of Aquitaine, and declaring him his heir, cauſed him to be crowned emperor at Aix la Chapelle; at the ſame time he ordered Bernard, who was in Italy, to be crowned king at Monza, by the archbiſhop of Milan. Charlemagne did not long ſurvive this ceremony, for being attacked with a fever, which turned to a pleuriſy, died on the 28th of January, in the ſeventieth year of his age. Upon the news of the death of Charlemagne, Lewis left Aquitaine, and repaired to Aix la Chapelle, where he was met by Bernard, king of Italy, and the ambaſſadors of Leo, emperor of Conſtantinople, who renewed the treaty that had been concluded with his father. He confirmed likewiſe the peace with Grimoald, duke of Benevento, on condition of his paying the ſame tribute as formerly.

A. D. 813.

Lewis is crowned emperor, and Bernard crowned king of Italy, Charlemagne dies, and is ſucceeded by Lewis.

The Romans, who had ever had an averſion to pope Leo, being informed of the death of Charlemagne, his protector, again began to oppoſe his authority, and ſeveral of the nobles conſpired againſt his life; which plot being diſcovered to Leo, he ſeized the conſpirators, and ordered them to be put to death. A complaint being made to Lewis of this ſeverity of the pope, he ſent his nephew Bernard, who was ſtill with him, into Italy, to enquire into the diſturbance at Rome. Bernard, upon his arrival at Rome, having informed himſelf of the particulars, ſent an account of the whole to Lewis, along with the ambaſſadors of Leo, who ſatisfied the emperor concerning the falſe accuſations of their maſter. Leo dying the year following, was ſucceeded by Stephen IV. who immediately after his election ordered the Romans to take the oath of allegiance to Lewis; and two months afterwards he went himſelf into Germany, attended by Bernard, where he was received with great reſpect by the empe-

A. D. 816.

Stephen IV. ſucceeds Leo, and crowns the emperor in Germany.

emperor [n], whom he crowned at Rheims, together with his queen Hermingarde. Stephen returning to Rome, died soon after, and was succeeded by Pascal, who immediately sent an embassy to the emperor, excusing himself for assuming that dignity before he had made him acquainted with his election. Lewis admitting of his excuse, renewed the grant of his father and grandfather in favour of the see of Rome; and having called a very full assembly of the states at Aix la Chapelle, with their approbation caused his eldest son Lotharius to be crowned emperor, Pepin his second son king of Aquitaine, and Lewis king of Bavaria.

A. D. 817. Bernard, king of Italy, who had begun to aspire to the empire, to which he thought he had the preferable right, as his father Pepin was the elder brother of Lewis, being informed of this division of the empire, by which he was consequently excluded, revolted from the emperor, and having fortified the passes of the Alps, made all the cities of Italy take the oath of allegiance to him. Lewis no sooner was acquainted with the proceedings of Bernard than he raised a great army, and advanced towards Italy. The news of his approach, so confounded the conspirators, that they quitted the part of Bernard, who finding himself abandoned by those who promised to assist him, resolved to have recourse to the emperor's clemency. Accordingly he went and threw himself at his uncle's feet, acknowleging his crime, and making a full confession of the conspiracy. Lewis, who was then at Chalons on the Soane, by this discovery having secured the chief conspirators, returned with them to Aix la Chapelle, where they were condemned to death, which sentence the emperor mitigated, ordering the eyes of the laics to be put out, and the bishops to be deposed. Bernard survived this operation only three days, and died on the 17th of April, having reigned only four years and five months. While these things were transacting in Germany, Radelchis count of Campaia, having revolted, slew Grimoald, prince of Benevento, and procured Sico to be elected in his stead, who sent ambassadors to the emperor, promising to pay the same homage and tribute as his predecessor had paid; which submission being accepted, his election was confirmed. The following year, Cadolach, duke of Friuli, dying suddenly, Lewis conferred that dukedom upon Balderic; and this new duke passing the Alps with

Bernard revolts against the emperor, but loses his kingdom and his life.

Grimoald prince of Benevento is assassinated by Radelchis.

[n] Vita Lud. cap. 38 & 39.

an

an army, acted in conjunction with the emperor against Lindeutus, who headed the rebellious Hunns. Having ravaged Pannonia, the emperor returned to Aix, and Balderic led his army back into Italy, after having reduced Carniola and Carinthia [o].

Vinigise duke of Spoleto resigning his principality, and taking on the monastic habit, Suppo count of Brescia succeeded him, as he had left no male issue. As the nobles in Lombardy were committing a great many disorders, Lotharius was sent into Italy, received there with great joy by the people, and crowned at Monza by the archbishop of Milan; and the Easter following being invited to Rome, he was there crowned by the pope king of Italy, and afterwards emperor. Rome was at this time greatly divided by two opposite factions; one endeavouring to support the pope's authority, the other that of the emperor; therefore Lotharius returned to Pavia, with the design of assembling some troops, to suppress the insolence of the opposite faction; but his affairs calling him into Germany, he went to his father's court at Frankfort, and sent Adelard, count of the palace, and Mauringus, count of Brescia, to put a stop to the disorders at Rome [p]. Before their arrival, Theodore, a dean, and Leo his son-in-law, a nomenclator, having been seized for preaching up obedience to the emperor, had their eyes put out, and were afterwards put to death, by order, as it was supposed, of the pope himself. The emperor Lewis, displeased at these proceedings, immediately sent commissioners to Rome to enquire into the affair; but before they set out, ambassadors arrived from the pope, who disclaimed their master's having any concern in the murder. Pascal, in the mean time, having assembled the bishops, in their presence cleared himself from the accusation, by swearing that he was not guilty; but he likewise declared the two persons deceased to have been lawfully put to death as traitors to their country, and therefore absolved those who had committed the murder. The emperor's commissaries, upon their arrival, not being able to convict the murderers, Lewis rested satisfied with the excuses of the pope [q], who dying the year following, his death occasioned fresh disturbances at Rome, where two were chosen to succeed him; but Eugenius being supported by the nobles, obtained consecration, though in a tumultuous

A. D. 823.

Lotharius crowned emperor at Rome.

[o] Sigon. ubi supra. [p] Blond. Dec. ii. lib. ii. [q] Sigon. ubi supra. Blond. ubi supra.

manner.

manner. Lewis being informed of these new disorders, sent his son Lotharius into Italy, to settle the affairs of that kingdom with the pope.

Lotharius, upon his arrival in Italy, appointed Adelard, count of the palace, duke of Spoleto, in the room of Suppo, lately deceased; but Adelard dying five months afterwards, that dukedom was conferred upon Mauringus, count of Brescia, who survived his investiture only a few days. Lotharius afterwards proceeding to Rome, settled the affairs of that city in conjunction with the pope; and having restored those who during the late disturbances had been deprived of their possessions, he published several new laws, especially one relating to the election of the popes, by which it was ordained, that the consecration of the pope, for the future, should always be in the presence of the king, or his ambassadors [r]. The affairs at Rome being thus settled, Lotharius returned to Germany, being jealous of the ascendancy which the empress Judith had over her husband, who had already promised to alter the former partition of his dominions, in favour of her infant son Charles, and by her intrigues excited his three eldest sons to cabal against his government. In the mean time pope Eugenius dying, Valentine was chosen in his room, who scarcely enjoyed the papal dignity a month, and was succeeded by Gregory IV. but as the emperor had no ambassador in Rome, his consecration was deferred till the arrival of one, who enquired into the election, before they proceeded to the ceremony of the consecration [s]. Lotharius, who had still continued at the emperor's court, being at last offended that Allemain, Rhetia, and a part of Burgundy (C), were given to Charles, with the title of king, he complained loudly of this partition, and set out for Italy: his two brothers Lewis and Pepin retired likewise to their own dominions, equally dissatisfied with the proceedings of the emperor. In the mean time, the empress having turned out those bishops and lords who opposed her schemes, supplied their places with her own partizans, and prevailed with the emperor to trust the administration of the empire to Bernard,

A. D. 825.

Puts an end to the tumults and disorders in that city.

[r] Sigon. lib. iv. p. 3.

[s] Sigon, ubi supra.

(C) By Allemain is understood the country situated between the Rhine, the Main, the Necker, and the Danube; by Rhetia is meant the province of the Grisons; and by the part of Burgundy is understood modern Switzerland, and the territory of Geneva.

count

count of Barcelona, who was supposed to be her gallant. These proceedings, far from strengthening her cause, served only to spirit up the malecontents to an open rebellion. The nobles, and many of the bishops, having entered into a conspiracy, they addressed themselves to Pepin king of Aquitaine, complaining, that the emperor neglected all the care of the empire, and trusted the administration of affairs to Bernard, who being engaged in an intrigue with the empress, designed not only to destroy the emperor, but likewise to cut off his sons, that he himself might succeed to the throne; that therefore it was his duty to undertake the protection of the empire, and redress the grievances which his father's bad administration had introduced [t]. Pepin, fond of the preference which the malecontents had shewn, by chusing him for their chief, willingly entered into their measures; and assembling an army, marched to Verberie, with design to seize the empress and Bernard. The emperor, astonished at the news of this rebellion, sent Bernard to his government in Catalonia, and desired Judith to take sanctuary in a monastery, while he himself went with a small army to Compeigne. Pepin with his army advancing into the neighbourhood of Compeigne, commanded Judith to be brought out of the monastery whither she had fled, and ordered her, as she valued her life, to go and persuade her husband to become a monk. Judith being thus allowed to speak in private with the emperor, persuaded him to seem consenting to what the rebels desired; and returning to their camp, they obliged her to take the veil in the abbey of St. Radegond. A. D. 830.

A rebellion against the emperor.

Lotharius being informed of these disturbances in the empire, immediately marched out of Italy with an army; and though he was not greatly offended at the revolt, yet he was uneasy to see any other besides himself at the head of the malecontents; he therefore, upon his arrival, assumed a superiority, in which he was supported by the chief of the malecontents, who declared for him as heir to the empire, and already crowned by the pope. This behaviour of the malecontents was far from being acceptable to Pepin, who quitted Compeigne, and retired to his own kingdom. In the mean time Lotharius having secured the person of the emperor, treated him with great respect, but retained the power of government in his own hands; and having seized Herbert, brother of count

The rebels are joined by Lotharius, who seizes the person of the emperor.

[t] Sigon. ubi supra.

Bernard,

Bernard, he ordered his eyes to be put out, notwithstanding the intercession of the emperor, whom he now trusted to the guard of some monks, advising them to prevail with him to quit the world. The monks, far from assisting the designs of Lotharius, advised the emperor to take courage, and promised to assist him to the utmost in recovering his dignity. One of them, more enterprising than the rest, under pretence of religion, got leave to withdraw; and going to Pepin and Lewis, prevailed with them to undertake the protection of their father, by promising them an enlargement of territory; he likewise persuaded a great many bishops and counts of the empire to return to their allegiance. The party of the emperor being now superior to the malecontents, a diet was appointed Nimeguen, at which great numbers from Germany and France assisted. Lewis finding himself well supported, began to resume his authority, and deprived the abbot Hilduin of his abbies, because, contrary to his command, he came to the diet with an armed force. This, and other instances of firmness in the emperor, disconcerted the malecontents, who seeing Lewis surrounded with his friends, among whom were Lewis and Pepin his sons, began to be anxious about their own safety, and consulted with Lotharius what was best to be done; but the emperor sending for him, laid before him in an affectionate though serious manner the heinousness of his crime, and advised him to submit voluntarily to a power which he might perceive was greatly superior to his. Lotharius, touched with the affectionate reproof of his father, threw himself at his feet, and asked pardon, which was freely granted by the emperor. The rebels, impatient at the delay of Lotharius, and thinking him detained a prisoner, ran to arms, and determined to hazard all upon an engagement. But the emperor and Lotharius appearing, and declaring that they were reconciled, the face of affairs was quickly changed, and the chief malecontents being seized, peace was again restored to the empire. Lotharius, though he was pardoned by his father, yet was deprived of the title of emperor, and all the subjects of the empire were absolved from their allegiance to him; he was likewise obliged to promise upon oath, never to undertake any thing against the empire: on these conditions he was allowed to return to Italy. Notwithstanding these precautions, the peace was of a very short continuance, for Bernard, count of Barcelona, upon his return to court, finding that he was not again to be trusted with the

The emperor recovers his authority at the assembly at Nimeguen.

A. D. 832.

His sons again rebel against him.

the administration, and that he had lost the favour of the empress, retired to his government, but in his way stopped at Aquitaine, where he engaged Pepin in a new conspiracy against his father. The emperor, who had sent for Pepin to court, suspecting by his delay that he was meditating a revolt, appointed a general diet at Orleans, and ordered his three sons to be present. But he was soon after surprised with the news, that his son Lewis of Bavaria was again in arms; therefore quitting his design of convoking a diet, he immediately assembled an army, and marched against his rebel son, who finding himself unable to resist the emperor, came and submitted; and upon swearing that he would never again swerve from his duty, he obtained his pardon. Lotharius, though he was suspected of being concerned in this conspiracy [u], yet, as he saw it stifled in the very beginning, came to his father at Frankfort, and assured him, that he had no part in the revolt of his brother. His submission being accepted, the emperor marched against Pepin, who had refused to appear at the diet, which was held at Orleans in September, and was now in arms. Pepin being summoned to appear before his father, on pain of being disinherited, thought proper to submit, as he had not forces sufficient to oppose the army of the emperor. On his arrival he was made prisoner, and conducted under a guard to Triers; but making his escape on the road, he posted into his own kingdom, where assembling some troops, he harrassed the army of the emperor in its return to Aix la Chapelle. This behaviour so exasperated his father, that he at last yielded to the solicitations of Judith, and disinheriting Pepin, gave his kingdom to her son Charles. That Lotharius might not be offended at this advancement of Charles, the country of the Grisons and Swisserland was added to his dominions, and the empress promised to procure the imperial dignity to be again restored to him.

Lewis is pardoned;

but Aquitaine is taken from Pepin, and given to Charles.

But as Lotharius found no effect from her promises, he publicly espoused the cause of Pepin; and having raised an army in Italy, even prevailed with the pope to accompany him into Germany. Having entered Alsace, and being joined by his brothers, he every where published, that the pope had espoused his cause, and was come to excommunicate his father. This report, though it had great influence on the common people, and several bishops of low extraction, yet served only to attach the greatest part of

A. D. 833.

Lotharius marches from Italy with an army against the emperor.

[u] Vita Lud. Pii.

the

the prelates of Germany and France to the emperor, who wrote to the pope, that if he came to excommunicate, he would be excommunicated himſelf. Gregory replied in a high ſtyle, and affirmed, that he only came into Germany as mediator betwixt the emperor and his ſons; nevertheleſs, he ſtill continued in the army of Lotharius [w]. In the mean time the emperor having raiſed an army, marched againſt the rebels, who were encamped betwixt Baſil and Colmar. When he came within view of their camp, the pope with his retinue came over to his army, where, according to Paſcaſe Radbert, he continued three days; but his mediation being unſucceſsful with the emperor, he returned to Lotharius, who, in the mean time, is ſaid to have debauched the ſoldiers of his father, ſo that the night following almoſt the whole army deſerted to the rebels. Lewis finding himſelf abandoned by his friends, ſurrendered to Lotharius, on condition of his life and liberty; but he was no ſooner in his ſon's camp than he was made a priſoner, and in a tumultuous aſſembly depoſed: the pope, proteſting againſt theſe proceedings, returned to Italy [x]. Lotharius having called an aſſembly at Compeigne, was there declared emperor, and his father condemned by the biſhops to do public penance; after which he was confined to a very ſtrict impriſonment [y]. The greatneſs of his misfortune at length procuring Lewis many friends, his two other ſons were prevailed upon to demand the liberty of their father. Lotharius finding that his violent proceedings were condemned by the whole empire, left his father in the monaſtery of St. Denis, and retired into Swiſſerland, where he aſſembled an army, and marched againſt the Imperialiſts. But the army of the emperor being greatly ſuperior, he thought proper to ſubmit, and obtained pardon, on condition of returning into Italy, and not repaſſing the Alps without leave of the emperor.

The emperor is delivered from Lotharius, who is obliged to ſue for pardon.

A. D. 835. While Lotharius was thus employed in dethroning his father, the Saracens infeſted the coaſts of Italy, and committed ſuch ravages, that even the biſhops were obliged to march to the protection of the coaſt: but Lotharius, upon his return, far from putting his kingdom in a poſture of defence againſt the infidels, ſeized upon many places belonging to the ſee of Rome, under pretence that they were part of his kingdom of Lombardy. Pope Gregory complaining to Lotharius, without receiving any ſatisfac-

The coaſts of Italy infeſted by the Saracens.

[w] Epiſt. Greg. IV. apud Agobard. Baron. ad an. 833.
[x] Baron. ad an. 833. [y] See the Hiſtory of France.

tion,

tion, sent an embassy to the emperor, who being displeased with his son's proceedings, ordered him to desist, and likewise to prepare for his reception, as he proposed soon to make a journey into Italy. Two years afterwards, Pepin, king of Aquitaine, dying, Lotharius was sent for from Italy; the whole empire, excepting Bavaria, being divided into two lots, he had the one, and the other was conferred upon his half brother Charles, who was warmly recommended to his protection, both by the emperor and empress. After this partition, Lotharius returned to Italy, where he continued till the death of the emperor, which he was no sooner informed of, than he assembled an army and marched into France, where he was acknowleged as emperor: but not satisfied with this dignity, and the dominions left to him by his father, he quickly began to usurp those of his brother, who thereupon entered into an alliance against him: joining their forces, they engaged his army near Fontenay; and, after an obstinate dispute, in which a hundred thousand men are said to have fallen on both sides, they obtained a complete victory, and forced Lotharius to retire to Lyons and Vienna. In consequence of this victory, the two brothers made themselves masters of Austrasia and Burgundy; and to secure their conquests, called an assembly of the bishops, in which Lotharius was declared to have forfeited his kingdom, which was divided betwixt Lewis and Charles. Lotharius finding that his brothers were not only superior in arms, but likewise supported by the spiritual power, sued for peace, and begged a new partition of the empire. His brothers reflecting that they only held their territories from the good-will of the people, consented to his demand, and a congress being held at Coblentz, the empire was at last divided among the three brothers, in which partition, all that is situated betwixt the Rhine and the Scheld, all the countries situated on the Maese, and the provinces on both sides the Rhine, fell to the share of Lotharius, together with the kingdom of Italy, and the title of emperor. All beyond the Rhine was ceded to Lewis, who took the title of king of Germany; and Charles had the third division, with the title of king of France.

Lotharius succeeds to the empire.

A. D. 853.

A final partition agreed to.

In the course of the following year Lotharius, being engaged in settling the affairs of Germany, appointed his eldest son Lewis king of Italy; and being informed that Sergius II. who succeeded Gregory IV. had been consecrated without waiting for his confirmation, he sent his son with an army into Italy, to be crowned in that

A. D. 844.

Lotharius declares his eldest son Lewis king of Italy;

kingdom; and desired his uncle Drogo, bishop of Metz, to accompany him. Drogo had orders to assemble at Rome the archbishops of Milan and Ravenna, and as many Italian bishops as he could find, to examine in the election of Sergius. The pope, that he might avert the threatening storm, received young Lewis with extraordinary honours, and waited for him upon the steps of St. Peter's church, the doors of which were shut by his orders. After Lewis had been introduced to the pope, and kissed his foot, Sergius told him, that if he came for the good of the church, the doors should immediately be opened, but if otherwise, he should have no access. Lewis declaring that he came with a pure intention for the church's welfare, after the example of his father and grandfather, the doors were opened, and the pope and he, entering the church, performed their devotions together [z]. This declaration of Lewis, however, did not prevent Drogo and the other bishops from enquiring into the election of Sergius, which they approved of, but condemned as a precedent; and, to prevent the imperial right from being infringed for the future, they ordained, that the popes should not be consecrated before they were confirmed by the emperor. The day after this regulation, Lewis was crowned by the pope, king of the Lombards, and the Romans afterwards took the oaths of allegiance to the emperor. During these transactions, the army of Franks and Lombards, that attended Lewis, committed the same excesses in the neighbourhood of Rome, that they had been guilty of in their march through Italy; for being denied access to the city, they plundered the suburbs, and destroyed the fields. The Romans being under great apprehensions that Lewis designed to make a conquest of Rome, their fears were greatly increased by the arrival of Siconolphus, prince of Benevento, with another army; but that prince, after having had an interview with Lewis, concerning the present state of his affairs, returned to Salerno, and Lewis in a little time marched with his army to Pavia [a].

who is crowned by the pope.

A. D. 851. *Benevento is divided by Lewis into two dukedoms.*

A few years after this event, Lewis led an army to Benevento; and to put an end to the civil disputes, made an equal partition of the dukedom betwixt Radelchis and Siconolphus; Radelchis being appointed prince of Benevento, and Siconolphus having Salerno and its territory,

[z] Baron. ad an. 844. Sigon. ubi sup. [a] Baron. ad an. 844.

under

under the same title [b]. After this decision, the emperor returned with his army to Mantua; and two years afterwards he repaired to Germany, being sent for by his father, who had associated him in the empire. During his absence, the Saracens, who were still in possession of Bari, again made an irruption into Apulia, Calabria, and the dukedom of Benevento, destroying all before them with fire and sword. The Italians, unable to defend themselves from so barbarous an enemy, sent the abbots of Monte Cassino and St. Vincent into Germany, to represent their miserable condition to the emperor, and to beg the return of Lewis, with an army to protect them. Lotharius immediately ordered Lewis to return to Italy; and as he was informed that the ancient discipline of the church, established by his father Lewis, and grandfather Charlemagne, was greatly relaxed of late years, he desired him, as soon as his affairs would allow, to call an assembly of the nobles and bishops, to enquire into the disorders, and to put a stop to them by new laws. Lewis, upon his return to Italy, assembled an army, and, being assisted by the Capuans, defeated the Saracens in several engagements; but the Capuans, for what reason is uncertain, proving unfaithful to him, he led his army to Salerno, where having turned out the son of Siconolphus, who had succeeded his father, he gave the principality to Ademarius, and afterwards returned to Pavia, where he appointed an assembly of the states to be held soon after.

A. D. 855.

Lewis appoints a council to be held at Tesino, where a new edict is published regarding the clergy.

The nobles and bishops assembling in January at Tesino, Lewis gave orders to Angilbert, archbishop of Milan, and Andrew, patriarch of Aquileia, to make enquiry into the lives of the bishops, and all the other clergy. After a diligent inquisition, they reported, that many of the bishops and inferior clergy lived in such a manner as to disgrace their profession; that, partly from the neglect of the bishops, and partly from the carelessness of the people, preaching was greatly disused; that the nobles, having built chapels in their houses, neglected to attend divine service in the churches; and likewise employed persons of worthless characters, and even some that were not ordained, to officiate as their chaplains [c]. This report being made to the king, a new edict was published on the 4th of February, ordaining, under severe penalties, the clergy and monks to live according to the laws of their

[b] Sigon. lib. v. p. 122. Leo Ostien. lib. i. cap. 31. [c] Sigon. ubi supra.

inſtitutions; that all cauſes ſhould be judged according to the written laws; and courts eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe in proper places, whither the people might be at liberty to reſort, without any moleſtation.

A few months after the publication of this edict, the peace of Italy was like to be diſturbed by one Daniel, an officer at Rome, who, upon ſome diſguſt, went to Lewis, and accuſed Gratian, prefect of the Roman palace, of adviſing the Romans to make an alliance with the Greek emperor, and to expel the Franks. Lewis, alarmed at this information, immediately went to Rome, without previouſly acquainting the pope of his journey. Being received in a reſpectful manner by Leo, a day was appointed to enquire into the affair; when Gratian, in the preſence of the emperor and the pope, and a full aſſembly of the nobles and ſenators of Rome, proving himſelf innocent of the accuſation, Daniel was delivered over to his power, according to the Roman law, and Lewis returned ſatisfied to Pavia [d]. Leo likewiſe, in juſtification of himſelf, wrote to Lotharius, profeſſing that he always had, and ever ſhould obſerve his edicts, and thoſe of his anceſtors; but begged, that he would allow the Romans to uſe the Roman laws, which they had always hitherto obſerved. A few days after the determination of this affair, Leo died, and was ſucceeded by Benedict III. who immediately ſent an embaſſy to the emperors Lotharius and Lewis, informing them of his election; but Lewis, being offended that they had proceeded to the election before he was acquainted, encouraged the election of one Anaſtaſius, whom his party at Rome elected in a tumultuous manner, and placed by force in the Lateran palace; not being able to prevail with the biſhops to conſecrate Anaſtaſius, the Imperial ambaſſadors at laſt conſented to allow Benedict to enjoy the papal dignity, and he was accordingly conſecrated in their preſence [e].

The emperor Lotharius dies, and leaves the empire divided among his three ſons.

During this conteſt at Rome, the emperor Lotharius died in Germany, having before his death aſſumed the monkiſh habit in the monaſtery of Prum, and made a diviſion of his dominions among his three ſons, by which diviſion only the kingdom of Italy and the title of emperor was aſſigned to Lewis, all on this ſide the Alps being divided betwixt Lotharius and Charles. Though Lewis was not ſatisfied with this partition, yet as he knew his

[d] Anaſtaſ. Biblioth. in Vita Leon. Pont. [e] Idem in Vita Benedict.

brothers

brothers would join their forces to prevent him from making any conqueſts in their dominions, he ſubmitted, without oppoſition to the will of his father, and applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of the government of Italy, making progreſſes through the great cities of Lombardy, and enquiring into the grievances of his ſubjects. He went the following year with his empreſs to Venice, where he was received with great honours, and confirmed the peace ſubſiſting with that republic. While Lewis was at Venice, count Lando, and Landolphus biſhop of Capua or Sicopolis, changed the ſituation of their city, and built a new one upon the river Voltorno, as the former city had been greatly ravaged by fires, upon account of its high ſituation. The papal ſee ſoon after becoming vacant by the death of Benedict, who enjoyed that dignity little more than two years, Lewis immediately repaired to Rome, to be preſent at the conſecration of the ſucceeding pope; and Nicholas, being unanimouſly elected, was conſecrated in the preſence of the emperor, on the 22d of April. A few days after, Nicholas being informed that the emperor was propoſing to return to Lombardy, he came out to viſit him in his camp, and was received with great reſpect by Lewis, who advanced to meet him, and, from an exceſs of complaiſance, alighted, and taking hold of the bridle of the pope's horſe, walked in that manner for about fifty yards; which ceremony, whether the effect of weakneſs or complaiſance, was made a precedent by the following popes. The year after the archbiſhop of Ravenna having been depoſed by the pope for aſſerting his independency, fled for protection to the emperor, who wrote to Nicholas, deſiring him to call an aſſembly of the biſhops to decide that cauſe. Accordingly the patriarch of Gradiſcia, and the biſhops from Campania, Tuſcia, and the other provinces, aſſembling at Rome, the cauſe of the archbiſhop was tried, in the preſence of Lewis's ambaſſadors. But as Lewis had only the title of emperor, without the power, his protection was but of ſmall account. The archbiſhop was obliged to acknowlege his error before he was reſtored, and likewiſe ordered to appear every other year at Rome, unleſs prevented by ſickneſs, or abſolved from that obligation by the pope.

After the determination of this cauſe Lewis was engaged in a new war with the Saracens, who were ſtill in

A. D. 867. poſſeſſion of Bari[f]. Having aſſembled a formidable army he marched into the dukedom of Benevento, where, according to the Greek hiſtorians, the emperor Michael ordered a body of auxiliaries to join him. Lewis, after viſiting the monaſtery of St. Benedict, according to a vow by which he had engaged himſelf, marched againſt Capua, which he took, and in a great meaſure deſtroyed; from thence he advanced to Salerno, Amalfi, and Puteoli, and afterwards to Benevento, to ſecure the fidelity of Adalgiſe, who was ſaid to hold a correſpondence with the Saracens. Early next ſpring, that he might exterminate the infidels from Italy, he marched and beſieged Bari, their capital; but finding it too well fortified to be ſoon reduced, he ſent to his brother Lotharius for aſſiſtance, and in the mean time marched againſt other places in the poſſeſſion of the Saracens. Upon the arrival of the auxiliaries from his brother, he defeated the enemy in a pitched battle, and took Lucera, with ſeveral other places of ſtrength in its neighbourhood. Marching afterwards againſt Bari he beſieged it a ſecond time, but without effect; for the Germans becoming very ſickly, on account of the extraordinary heat of the climate, and many of them having died by the bite of the tarantula, they quitted Italy, and returned home[g]. Upon their departure Lewis raiſed the ſiege of Bari, and retired to Benevento; but the Saracens ſallying out upon his rear, cut off two thouſand of his men, and marching afterwards to the mountain Garganus, now Monte di S. Angelo, they plundered and burnt the church of St. Michael.

Lewis marches againſt the Saracens, and beſieges Bari;

In the mean time pope Nicholas dying, Adrian II. was elected in his ſtead; and the emperor's ambaſſadors, who were then in Rome, complaining that they were not invited to the election, they were anſwered, that this ceremony was not omitted out of any diſreſpect to the emperor, but to prevent for the future the ambaſſadors of any prince from pretending to interfere with the election of a pope[h]. This was a language which they had never uſed before; but Adrian was reſolved to loſe none of the authority that had been uſurped by his predeceſſor Nicholas; beſides, as the popes protected themſelves by the power of Charlemagne, when they withdrew their allegiance from the Eaſtern emperors, they now ſaw, that from the divi-

[f] Sigon lib. v. p. 128. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Anaſt. Bibl. in Vita Hadrian.

ſions

ſions among the deſcendents of that conqueror, they might ſafely renounce their allegiance to them. As Lewis had only the ſhadow of authority over the Romans, he acquieſced in the anſwer of Adrian, who was conſecrated in the preſence of his ambaſſadors. In the following year Lewis began the campaign againſt the Saracens with the ſiege of Bari, in which he was aſſiſted by the Grecian fleet; but finding his efforts vain, he raiſed the ſiege, and marched againſt Matera, Venoſa, and Canoſa, which he recovered from the infidels. Having burnt Matera, he left ſtrong garriſons in the other two places, and broke up his camp. The following campaign he made another attempt upon Bari, and being again aſſiſted by the Grecians, he at laſt made himſelf maſter of the place, which he deſtroyed, and took Seodan, their chief, priſoner, whom, according to Leo Oſtienſis, he put to death; but the Grecian writers ſay, that he impriſoned him in Capua. After the reduction of Bari the emperor marched againſt Taranto, which was ſtill poſſeſſed by the Saracens; but he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, to puniſh the conſpiracy of two counts, who, finding their treaſon diſcovered, fled to Benevento, and implored the protection of Adalgiſe. Lewis, in his march, took Æſernia and the city of St. Agatha; but, upon his approach to Benevento, Adalgiſe coming out to meet him, obtained pardon for the two counts, which Lewis the more readily granted, as he was haſtening to Rome, to conſult with pope Adrian how to obtain the poſſeſſion of the dominions of his brother Lotharius, which was now fallen to him by his death, but were uſurped by his uncle Charles the Bald, king of France.

A. D. 869. *which he takes and deſtroys.*

The pope warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the emperor, and wrote to Charles, who had been crowned king of Lorrain, exhorting him to deſiſt from the uſurpation of his nephew's right, and threatening him with excommunication if he refuſed to comply. He wrote likewiſe to the biſhops and nobles of France, urging the right of the emperor [i], and exhorting them to acknowlege him as their prince; but not being able to prevail with Charles to relinquiſh the poſſeſſion, he ſent for Lewis to Rome, where he ſolemnly crowned him king of Lorrain, hoping by that ceremony to ſtrengthen his right [k]. Charles, though he paid no regard to the embaſſies of the emperor or the pope,

A. D. 871. *Lewis crowned king of Lorrain by the pope.*

[i] Adriana, Epiſt. xx. Ainem. Epiſt. xl. Epit. Paris, ann. 615. Aimon. lib. v. cap. 28.

was obliged to hearken to the claims of the king of Germany, and consented to a division of his new acquired kingdom with him, rather than risk the losing of the whole. Lewis at this time was not in a condition to make good his right by arms, for the Saracens were still in possession of a great many places in Italy, and Seodan having escaped from his imprisonment, had assembled a new army, which was reinforced by a fresh body of infidels lately landed [l]. Basil, likewise, emperor of Constantinople, being disappointed in his hopes of marrying Lewis's only daughter, in resentment for the refusal had become his bitter enemy. He not only erased his title of emperor from pope Adrian's letters, but had also sent a threatening letter to him, ordering him to lay it aside; and had excited Adalgise to renounce his allegiance, and give assistance to the Saracens [m]. Lewis having sent a long letter to Basil, which is still extant, in justification of his right, marched with his army against Benevento, resolving to reduce that city, as it was the head of the whole revolt; but Adalgise, though he had entered into a secret alliance with Basil, yet publicly professed his attachment to Lewis. Hearing that he was marching to reduce Benevento, he went out to meet him, and, by strong assurances of his fidelity, and that of his subjects, diverted him from his purpose. Lewis being satisfied with the professions of Adalgise, turned his arms against the cities in possession of the Saracens, many of which he made himself master of in a short time; but Capua being fortified with a wall of square stone, made a long resistance. However, being reduced to great difficulties, the garrison at last offered to capitulate, but the terms being rejected by the emperor, they had recourse to their bishop, who marching out of the town with the body of St. Germain upon his shoulders, obtained pardon for his citizens, in consideration of that relique, which was afterwards carried into France [n].

Adalgise treacherously imprisons Lewis at Benevento.

After the reduction of Capua, Lewis dismissed his army into summer quarters, and went himself to Benevento, where he was treacherously surprised by Adalgise, who put him in prison, and refused to set him at liberty before he promised upon oath never again to enter the dukedom of Benevento. Upon recovering his liberty Lewis went to Verole, where he assembled his army, and defeated the Saracens near Capua; in consequence of which

[l] Sigon. lib. v. p. 131. [m] Baron. ad. ann. 871. [n] Idem ad. ann. 572.

defeat

defeat they retired to Calabria, and from thence embarked for Africa [o]. Next year Lewis went to Rome, where he was abſolved from his oath to Adalgiſe by pope John VIII. and Adalgiſe himſelf declared an enemy of the republic. Hearing that the emperor was marching againſt him he fled to Corſica, and left his country to the mercy of the enemy, who committed great diſorders through the whole dukedom; nevertheleſs Aimonius relates, that Adalgiſe, by the mediation of the pope, was reconciled to the emperor [p]. As the health of the emperor was now very precarious, and he had no male iſſue, his uncles, the kings of Germany and France, began to intrigue about his ſucceſſion. Lewis, king of Germany, had ſecured the intereſt of the empreſs, by ceding his part of Lorrain to the emperor, and promiſing to protect her againſt the Italian nobles, to whom ſhe was become odious on account of her intermeddling with the affairs of ſtate. They wanted to have her divorced, that the emperor might marry another, in order to have an heir to his kingdom. Charles, king of France, was ſenſible that he had no intereſt with the emperor or empreſs, and that his brother Lewis had a preferable right; therefore, by large promiſes, he privately brought over a great many Italian nobles to his party, and likewiſe ſecured the favour of the pope, who nevertheleſs went to Verona, and was preſent at a conference betwixt the emperor and Lewis king of Germany [q]. While the emperor was employed in this congreſs, the Saracens again invaded Italy, under their prince Abdalla, and beſieged Salerno; but Lewis ſending an army to the relief of the place, the infidels were repulſed with great loſs [r].

In the courſe of the following year, his health daily decreaſing, he fell dangerouſly ſick in France, where he died, in the month of Auguſt, and was buried in the church of St. Ambroſe [s], at Milan, leaving behind him only one daughter, named Hermengarde, who was afterwards married to Boſon, king of Provence. Lewis was greatly beloved by his people, on account of his perſonal qualifications and his love for juſtice, which he cauſed to be adminiſtered to the meaneſt of his ſubjects with great impartiality. Though in the beginning of his reign he manifeſted ſome ſpirit in oppoſing the encroachments of the popes, yet, in conſequence of his father's

A. D. 875.

Lewis dies, and is buried at Milan.

[o] Sigon. ubi ſupra. [p] Aimon. lib. v. cap. 30, in fin. [q] Annal. Pithæi hoc anno. [r] Hermpertus de Rebus Geſtis Longobard. [s] Sigon. ubi ſupra.

will,

will, finding himself without the power belonging to his title, he afterwards submitted too quietly to their usurpations, and even gave a kind of sanction to them by his condescension. Charles the Bald, king of France, being informed of the death of the emperor, immediately marched with an army towards Italy, and passed the Alps on the 1st of September, having been secretly invited by the pope, who promised to crown him emperor as soon as he arrived at Rome. Lewis king of Germany, conscious of his superior right, and being informed of his brother's march, sent his son Charles the Gross with an army into Italy to stop him; but being repulsed at first, he was afterwards reinforced by another body of forces under Carloman, upon which the king of France, not chusing to hazard a battle, had recourse to negociation, and at first endeavoured to prevail with Carloman, by the offer of large bribes, to betray the cause of his father; but not succeeding in that attempt, he proposed that a partition should be made of the late emperor's dominions betwixt the king of Germany and himself, and that till then both armies should evacuate Italy. Carloman consenting to this expedient, immediately repassed the Alps; but Charles, finding his enemy gone, marched on to Rome, pretending that he could not refuse a message from the pope.

While these things were transacted in Lombardy, the chief of the Roman nobility went to the pope, and represented to him, that as the emperor Lewis had died without leaving a successor, that dignity, which had been usurped by foreigners for so many ages, ought now to return to the Italians. The count of Tuscany headed this party of the nobles, being in hopes of obtaining the imperial dignity for himself; but the pope, who wanted no master in Italy, rejected their proposition, and continued firm to the interests of the king of France [s], who arriving soon after at Rome [t], corrupted the senate and nobles of that city by his profuse bribes, having, in his march thither, plundered the treasures of the deceased emperor. The pope, finding that the king of France was determined to have the title of emperor at any price, resolved to sell it to him as high as he could; therefore, before his coronation, he made him stipulate to acknowlege the independency of Rome and its territory, and to confess that he only held the empire by the gift of the pope [u]. Charles

[s] Sigon, lib. x. p. 132.
[t] Scriptor. Anonym. ap. Baron.
[u] Post. Annal. Pithœi, p. 39.

con-

condescending to the terms proposed, was accordingly crowned emperor by the pope, in the Vatican church, on the 25th of December. Having made many precious gifts to the churches at Rome, he left that city on the 5th of January, and proceeded to Pavia, attended by the pope, who, in an assembly of the nobles and bishops, made a long discourse in praise of the emperor, full of specious falshoods, declaring that he was without ambition, and, like another Joseph, had entered Italy to save, not a single nation, but the universal church. After this discourse, the bishops and nobles present giving their consent, Charles was crowned king of Lombardy by the archbishop of Milan. Thus the same person that had been threatened with excommunication by pope Adrian for usurping the dominions of his nephew Lotharius, was confirmed in his usurpation of Italy by pope John; and the emperors, from being sovereigns of the popes, had now basely become their vassals.

A. D. 876.

Charles the Bald is crowned emperor by the pope, and likewise crowned king of Lombardy at Pavia.

While Charles was thus securing the possession of Italy, Lewis king of Germany, enraged at his treachery, marched with an army into France, which he ravaged as far Attigni in Champagne[w]; but being informed that Charles was actually crowned at Rome, he marched back, in the beginning of the year, to Germany, but continued, nevertheless, to make great preparations for war. In the mean time, Charles having received the allegiance of the Italian nobles, held a diet at Pavia, where he enacted several new laws, and renewed the privileges of several cities and churches, particularly of the church of Cremona. He likewise created his brother-in-law Boson a duke, and governor of Italy in his absence; and appointed Vido duke of Spoleto, and Berengarius duke of Friuli; after which steps he marched with his army into France, which he found ravaged not only by the Germans but by deserters from his own troops, who still continued in arms in many places.

After Charles had quitted Italy, Albert, or Alberic, count of Tuscany, and some other nobles, entered into a conspiracy against the pope, in revenge for his refusing to hearken to their proposal for retaining the imperial dignity in Italy. They were joined by Formosus bishop of Porto, and Gregory a nomenclator; but the pope, having deposed the two ecclesiastics, prevented the progress of the conspiracy for the present. Sending ambassadors

The count of Tuscany and several other nobles conspire against the pope.

[w] Aimon. lib. v. cap. 32. Sigon. ubi supra.

to

to the emperor, he informed him of the commotions at Rome, and begged his aſſiſtance againſt the Saracens, who having again landed in Italy, and joined their countrymen at Tarentum, had forced the inhabitants of Salerno, Amalfi, and Naples, to make an alliance with them, and threatened to invade the Roman territories. But the ambition of Charles prevented him from going to the defence of Italy; for his brother Lewis, king of Germany, being lately dead, he ſeized upon Lorrain, and marched to the Rhine, with a great army, againſt the ſons of the deceaſed; but being ſurpriſed by Lewis, king of Germany, he was entirely defeated, and obliged to quit the kingdom which he had uſurped. In the mean time the pope ſent frequent letters to the emperor, preſſing him to come into Italy; but Charles, ſince his defeat, having had a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, excuſed himſelf from that journey; yet he ſent orders to Vido duke of Spoleto and his brother Lambert, to give their aſſiſtance to the pope againſt the infidels. Accordingly, the pope having gone with them to Salerno and Naples, prevailed with Guaiferius, prince of Salerno, to quit his alliance with the Saracens; but Sergius, prince of Naples, refuſing to abandon the infidels, was taken by his brother Athanaſius the biſhop, who put out his eyes, and ſent him to the pope. In the mean time the Saracens continued their incurſions with great barbarity: having received a reinforcement, they paſſed the Anio, and threatened the city of Rome.

A. D. 877. The pope, aſtoniſhed at the near approach of the infidels, wrote preſſing letters to the emperor to come to his relief, who at laſt yielded to his ſolicitation. Having ſettled the affairs of France in a diet at Compeigne [x], he ſet out for Italy, with his empreſs Richilde, and a ſplendid retinue, but with very few troops, having ordered his army to be in readineſs to follow him when called. The pope, to haſten the deliberations about the war, went and met him at Vercelli, from whence they repaired together to Pavia, where they propoſed to crown the empreſs; but being alarmed with the news that Carloman, king of Bavaria, and brother of Lewis of Germany, had paſſed the Alps with a formidable army, with the deſign of making good his late father's right to the empire, they quitted Pavia, and repaired to Tortona, where the empreſs was crowned; immediately after which ceremony, ſhe retired to Morienne with the treaſure, in her way to

The emperor has a conference with the pope, at Pavia.

[x] Aimon. lib. v. cap. 35.

France.

France. The emperor himself followed her soon after, being disappointed in the arrival of his army, which had been delayed by the treachery of his generals. As for the pope, he fled directly to Rome. Charles had scarcely arrived at the Alps when he was attacked with a fever, and having recourse to a Jew physician, he received poison from him instead of a medicine, of which he died eleven days after, on the 5th of October, at a village called Brios, on Mount Cenis, in the second year of his reign over Italy. Before he expired he appointed his only son his successor, and sent him the regal and imperial ensigns, which were all the title he ever had of being king of Italy, for he died before the disturbances in that kingdom allowed any opportunity for his election.

Dies of poison soon after, in his return to France.

Carloman, who had made his appearance with an army in Italy, to accomplish what his father had only attempted, is said by Aimonius and Sigonius to have marched immediately back into Germany, in consequence of a false rumour that the emperor was marching against him with all his forces; but, according to the annals of Fulde and Regino, he continued his march into Italy, and made himself master of several towns in Lombardy. While the north of Italy was alarmed with the irruption of Carloman, and the death of the emperor, the southern parts were disturbed by an insurrection of the Capuans, who had expelled their bishop Landulph, and chosen one Ladenulph, a person of great power, in his room, though he was married, and but lately baptized. The pope, by the advice of the abbot of Cassino, and the bishop of Fiano, refused to consecrate Ladenulph; but at last, overcome by the intreaties of the nobles of Capua, he consented to his consecration, which occasioned great tumults in that city, so that he was obliged, for the sake of re-establishing peace, to replace Landulph as bishop, and to give the half of the revenues to Ladenulph, who soon after obtained from the pope the bishoprick of Cajeta[y]. The Saracens, taking advantage of these dissensions, again made an irruption into those provinces, plundering and destroying every thing before them; and Ladenulph, greatly oppressing the Cajetans, they invited the Saracens, to their relief. The pope being informed of this invitation, prevailed with Docibilis, duke of Cajeta, to renounce the alliance of the infidels, and to declare war against them. Docibilis accordingly, at the intreaty of the pope, en-

Carloman returns with his army to Germany.

The Capuans expel their bishop, and chuse another.

[y] Sigon. de Reg. Ital. lib. v. Leo Ostien. lib. v. cap. 43.

gaged

gaged the Saracens, but being defeated by them, was obliged to conclude a peace, and, in order to recover his friends that were made captives, he was forced to deliver up a fort on the river Garigliano.

A. D. 878. In the mean time the unexpected death of the emperor had given fresh spirits to the Italian nobles, who proposing to retain the imperial dignity in their own kingdom, solicited the pope to crown Lambert duke of Spoleto. John refusing to consent to their demand, Lambert raised an army, and marched towards Rome, hoping that the terror of his arms would obliged his holiness to comply; but the pope being highly offended at the little respect shewn him by Lambert, who, in his messages to him, refused him his usual titles, and treated him as his vassal, continued firm in his former resolution [z], and even declared that he would oppose him to the utmost of his power. Lambert, incensed at this obstinacy, made himself master of Rome, and immediately imprisoned the pope; but finding that his interest was not yet strong enough to set up for himself, he pretended that what he had done was by order of Carloman. The pope, still continuing inflexible, after a month's imprisonment, was set at liberty, and soon after, not thinking himself safe in Italy, he sailed to Provence, taking with him the most precious relics [a], to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Saracens, who, he heard, were invited by Lambert to come to his assistance against the church: at the same time he sent letters to Carloman, excusing himself for not coming to Bavaria as he intended, and blaming Lambert, who, he said, had blocked up all the roads. The pope was received in Provence with great respect by Boson, son-in-law to the emperor Lewis II. whom he adopted as his son, and favoured so much that it was supposed he designed him for the empire: however, the pope was at this time so greatly embarrassed, that he knew not whom to fix upon as his protector, but, to secure the favour of each party, he kept all in suspence.

Lambert duke of Spoleto claims the empire, and marches to Rome.

The pope is imprisoned, but is set at liberty, and retires to France.

Lewis the Stammerer crowned king of France by the pope at Troyes.

Having acquainted the king of France with his arrival, he went to Troyes, where, in a council of bishops, he published his excommunication of Lambert, and his accomplices at Rome; and Lewis, who had been hindered by sickness, coming hither on the 1st of September, was crowned, a few days after, king of France, but not em-

[z] Joan. Epist. 73. 84. 86, 87, 88, & 89. [a] Aimon. lib. v. cap. 57.

peror,

peror, as ſome hiſtorians have aſſerted without foundation. At the concluſion of the council, the pope requeſted the king of France and the biſhops, in an authoritative manner, to conduct him into Italy with an armed force [b]; but Lewis being then in a bad ſtate of health, Boſon willingly undertook that journey, hoping thereby to obtain the imperial crown. Italy having now been a whole year without a ſovereign, fell into the utmoſt anarchy and confuſion, the pope having been obliged, before his departure from Rome, to conſent to pay an annual tribute of twenty-five thouſand marks of ſilver to the Saracens; and the nobles and ſtates of Lombardy, being under no ſubordination, began to appropriate to themſelves the lands of their governments, and to claim an independency, which ſome of them have ever ſince maintained. Nevertheleſs, Sigonius ſeems to be of opinion that Carloman had ſome authority in Italy at this time, as he mentions many charters granted to the churches in Lombardy, in which Carloman is ſtyled king of Bavaria and Italy; but theſe charters are all dated in Bavaria [c], and the Lombard and German annals of this period are ſilent as to Carloman's exerciſing ſuch an authority. The pope, after an abſence of ſeveral months, returned to Italy, attended by Boſon, with an armed force, and called an aſſembly of the biſhops at Pavia, on the 27th of November [d], to provide for the ſecurity of the church, and ſettle the peace of Italy. Finding that Lambert and Albert, upon the news of his returning with an army, wanted to be reconciled to the church, he accordingly made his peace with them, and, diſmiſſing Boſon, without doing any thing for his promotion, returned to Rome.

Italy being without a king, the nobles and ſtates claim an independency.

A. D. 879.

The pope returns to Rome.

A few months afterwards, being informed of the death of Lewis, who died on the 10th of April, leaving behind him two ſons, Lewis and Carloman, both under age, the pope wrote to Anſpert, archbiſhop of Milan, ordering him to be preſent at Rome, on the 1ſt of May, at the election of a new king, ſince, as it is expreſſed in his letter [e], Carloman, king of Bavaria, was prevented by his infirmities from enjoying the kingdom; he likewiſe forbad the archbiſhop to crown any one king of Lombardy without his conſent. The pope deſigned to have propoſed Boſon to this aſſembly, who had lately aſſumed the title of king of Arles, or Provence, and who had a great party

The biſhops of Italy aſſemble at Rome to elect a king, but nothing is concluded upon.

[b] Baron, ad an. 878. [c] Sigon. lib. v. p. 135. [d] Baron. ad an. 878. [e] Joan. Epiſt. 155.

among

among the Italian nobles: however, as Anſpert, the archbiſhop of Milan, had refuſed to appear at the aſſembly, nothing was concluded upon; and as Charles, king of Almain, and Lewis, king of Germany, both wrote to the pope, requeſting the imperial dignity, he gave ſoothing anſwers to each, and ſought only an opportunity of delaying the election, in hopes that, as they were at variance with each other, Boſon might have an opportunity of coming into Italy. In the mean time, Lewis, king of Germany, had taken poſſeſſion of Bavaria, which was ceded to him by his brother Carloman, who had ſome time before been ſeized with a palſy. Charles, king of Almain, as he was alſo brother to Carloman, pretended to a part in this ſucceſſion; but as he had not forces ſufficient to make good his right, and was more intent upon obtaining the kingdom of Italy, with the title of emperor, he dropped his pretenſions to Bavaria for the preſent. Reſolving to prevent his competitor Boſon from entering Italy, he made an alliance with the two young kings of France, and declared war againſt him, for his invaſion of Burgundy.

The pope favours Boſon, but he is engaged in defending his new kingdom of Provence.

Boſon being thus engaged in defending his new kingdom againſt Charles and the kings of France, had not leiſure to think of the affairs of Italy; and the pope, now expecting no aſſiſtance from him againſt the ambitious nobles and Saracens, wrote to Carloman, Lewis, and Charles, ſeparately, inviting them to come to Italy, to aſſiſt him againſt the Saracens. Carloman died in the beginning of the following year; and Lewis, who had got poſſeſſion of his kingdom of Bavaria, durſt not leave Germany, leſt Arnoul, or Arnolf, Carloman's natural ſon, ſhould invade that kingdom, to which he made pretenſions, though his father had only left him Tyrol and Carinthia[f]. Charles of Almain, finding the other competitors otherwiſe engaged, entered Italy with an army, at which the pope ſeemed to be greatly alarmed; but after a conference held with him in his camp, in which Charles promiſed to grant extraordinary privileges to the holy ſee, his holineſs promiſed to crown him emperor, and returned to Rome, in expectation of his arrival: but Lewis, king of Germany, propoſing an accommodation, Charles, inſtead of marching to Rome, repaſſed the Alps, and, in a conference with his brother, it was agreed that Lewis ſhould have Bavaria and Sclavonia, and that Charles ſhould poſſeſs Italy and Almain. During theſe conteſts about the

Charles the Groſs marches into Italy.

[f] Sigon. lib. v. p. 136.

ſucceſſion

succession to the empire, Italy was greatly harrassed by the Saracens, many of the nobles having made alliances with them, to preserve themselves in the possession of their usurped power. The chief of those who entered into this alliance were Pulcherius, governor of Amalfi, and Athanasius, bishop of Naples, who, three years before, had put out the eyes of his brother Sergius for the same crime. Athanasius, not contented with the spiritual power in his bishoprick, had likewise invaded the civil authority, in which, by his alliance with the infidels, he supported himself, and greatly oppressed his subjects. The pope, finding that his intreaties had no influence with the nobles to abandon the alliance of the infidels, in the beginning of the following year wrote them a letter, threatening them with excommunication, if they continued that alliance after Christmas [g].

In the course of this year, according to Sigonius, Charles came again into Italy, and, in an assembly of the nobles, was crowned king by the archbishop of Milan, soon after which he repassed the Alps, and went to the assistance of his brother Lewis and the kings of France, who were then besieging Vienne, which held for Boson. The siege of this place continuing longer than was expected, and Charles being afraid lest the Greek emperor should renew his pretensions to Italy, he quitted Vienne, and again marched for that kingdom. In the mean time the pope, having called an assembly of the bishops at Rome, in the month of March, excommunicated Athanasius, bishop of Naples, who, having refused to quit his alliance with the infidels, had, together with them, ravaged Benevento, Capua, and Salerno, plundering and burning many monasteries and churches [h]. Charles, after having been delayed on his march by sickness, at last arrived at Rome, where he was received with great respect by the nobles, and, on Christmas-day, crowned emperor by the pope [i]. After his coronation, Charles continued about two months at Rome [k], consulting with the pope on means to be used for the security of Italy; and, about the beginning of March, he left Rome, and went for Lombardy. At Ravenna he was met by the Venetian ambassadors, with whom he renewed the treaty of peace for five years, and agreed, in conjunction with them, to fit out a fleet against the Dalmatian pirates, who not only infested the Adriatic

A. D. 880.

Crowned king by the archbishop of Milan.

A. D 881.

A. D. 882.

Obtains the imperial crown from the pope, who solicits his assistance against the Saracens.

[g] Joan. Epist. 127. [h] Leo Ostiens. lib. i. cap. 42. [i] Aimon. lib. v. cap. 60. prope finem. [k] Annales Bertin.

ſea, but made deſcents upon the coaſts. Upon the news of the emperor's departure from Rome, the Saracens immediately invaded the Roman territories, which invaſion alarming the pope, he wrote ſeveral letters to Charles, intreating him to return to his aſſiſtance [1]. He ſent an embaſſy to him likewiſe, with a preſent of the holy palm, obſerving to him, that, to merit it, he ought to return to the defence of the church, and ſhew the barbarians that Rome had an emperor; but Charles being intent upon repaſſing the Alps, continued his journey to Lombardy, and ſent only a ſmall body of troops to the pope. Rome at this time was not only in danger from the Saracens, but its territory was ravaged by Vido, duke or marquis of Spoleto, who, at Narni, cauſed the hands of eighty-three men to be cut off, but for what reaſon is not mentioned. Theſe barbarities, and the continual dangers to which he was expoſed, made the pope again reſolve to quit Italy, and retire to France; but this reſolution was not executed, for he died at Rome the December following.

Charles ſucceeds to the kingdom of Germany.

While Charles was in Italy, his only brother Lewis, king of Germany, died without iſſue, by whoſe death Bavaria, Sclavonia, oriental France, and the two Lorrains, fell to the emperor; but as he was not preſent to defend them, the Normans, who had for ſeveral years before been ravaging the maritime provinces of France and Germany, hearing of the death of Lewis, immediately marched into his dominions, and, having burnt Triers, beſieged Metz, of which they made themſelves maſters. Charles returning from Italy, marched againſt them with a great army, and beſieged them, ſome authors ſay in Metz, and others ſay in Haſlou; but the Normans making a vigorous defence, a peace was agreed to, on very diſhonourable terms to the emperor, who conſented to pay to one of the Norman princes four thouſand one hundred and ſixty marks of ſilver; the other, who choſe to turn Chriſtian, being put in poſſeſſion of the principality of Friſeland, and marrying Giſelle, the natural daughter of Lotharius. Upon the death of pope John, the faction of the counts of Tuſcany uſed their utmoſt endeavours to elect a ſucceſſor in their intereſt, and choſe Marinus Galeſianus, commonly called Martin II. who was conſecrated on the 25th of December, and immediately after reſtored Formoſus, biſhop of Porto, and the reſt who had been excommunicated by his predeceſſor. Notwithſtanding the union of the nobles with the

[1] Joan. Epiſt. 269. 277. 279. 293.

pope,

pope, the state of Italy was now worse than ever, the great men renouncing all authority, and every one claiming to be sovereign in his own territories, the whole kingdom was harrassed by their ambition. The emperor, to remedy these disorders, visited Italy after Easter, and was met by the pope at Verona, from whence, on the 10th of May, he went to Mantua. The duke of Spoleto at this time being accused of treason against the emperor, and refusing to appear, Charles ordered Berengarius, duke of Friuli, to seize his duchy, which order Berengarius endeavoured to put in execution, but was prevented by an epidemical sickness that seized his forces. Charles himself having been seized with a languishing distemper, and believing himself relieved by the assistance of St. Alexander, he went and visited his church at Bergamo, upon which he conferred many privileges, and spending the month of October at Pavia, returned afterwards to Germany, to oppose the incursions of the Moravians. Pope Martin did not long survive the departure of the emperor; for, he died on the 16th of January. Three days after his decease, Agapetus was chosen in his stead, by the same faction of the nobles, and took the name of Adrian III.

A. D. 883.

Italy disturbed by the ambition of the nobles.

A. D. 884.

Charles, hearing of the death of the pope, returned in the beginning of the year to Italy, to have a conference with his successor Adrian, and to quell the insolence of the duke of Spoleto, who had joined the Saracens, and committed horrid ravages all over Italy. Upon the arrival of the emperor, with an army of Bavarians, the duke of Spoleto thought proper to submit, and went and threw himself at Charles's feet. Upon giving hostages for his future fidelity, and renewing his oath of allegiance, he was pardoned by Charles, who soon after repassed the Alps, being informed of the death of Carloman king of France, who had succeeded his brother Lewis two years before. The Normans, by the death of Carloman, thinking themselves absolved from the peace which they had sworn to, with the French, some months before, again invaded France, claiming the same sum from the successor of Carloman which they had received from himself. The French, alarmed at their invasion, made an offer of their crown to the emperor, who received their allegiance, and thus united in his person all the dominions of his predecessor Charlemagne; but the height of his elevation served only to shew the narrowness of his talents. Far from becoming more powerful by the enlargement of his dominions, he from

Charles returns to Italy, and succeeds to the crown of France.

that time declined in authority, and at last became quite contemptible.

The Saracens plunder Campania, and burn the monastery of St. Benedict.

While the emperor was engaged in settling the affairs of his new kingdom, and opposing the Normans, Italy was desolated by the continual ravages of the Saracens, who, in the beginning of September, plundered and burnt the rich monastery of St. Benedict, on mount Cassino, and about a month afterwards attacked the lower monastery, which they likewise burnt, and slew Bertarius the abbot; after these ravages they returned to their fort on the Garigliano, loaded with booty [a]. The Italian nobles, who had long despised the kings of the Carlovingian race, upon account of their mutual dissensions, and want of power, now began to think of throwing off a foreign yoke; and, as the emperor had no issue, they determined, after his death, to retain the imperial dignity in their own kingdom, hoping thereby to be in a condition of repelling the insults of their enemies: they therefore went to pope Adrian, and requesting him to join with them in asserting the independency of Italy, obtained of him the two following

A. D. 885. decree: "That the popes, after their election, might be consecrated without waiting for the presence of the king or his ambassadors; and that, if Charles died without sons, the kingdom of Italy, with the title of emperor, should be conferred on some one of the Italian nobles [b]." The emperor, being informed of these proceedings of the Italian nobles, returned to Italy, and complained to the pope of the two decrees above mentioned; but, notwithstanding his remonstrances, he could not obtain a revocation of them. As the Normans had made an irruption into France, and were besieging Paris, he repassed the Alps, in order to relieve that city; and, upon his return to Germany, sent an army under Henry, duke of Saxony, against

The emperor's authority declines in Italy.

A. D. 886. the Normans. The following year Aio, prince of Benevento, being informed of the death of Basil, emperor of Constantinople, renounced his allegiance to the Greeks, and caused himself to be acknowleged sovereign in his dukedom. Leo, the successor of Basil, hearing of this revolt of the Beneventans, sent an army into Italy, which was defeated by Aio, and obliged to quit the country [c].

The duke of Benevento renounces his allegiance to the Greek emperor.

In the mean time, Charles was employed against the Normans, who still continued to besiege Paris; as he

[a] Leo Ostiens. lib. i. p. 45. Sigon. lib. v. p. 138. [b] Sigon. ubi supra. [c] Idem. ibid.

found

found himself unable to force them to raise the siege, he consented to an ignominious treaty, by which he entirely ruined himself in the esteem of his subjects; for on his return to Germany he was deposed in a dyet held at Tribur, in November, and Arnoul, or Arnold, natural son of Carloman king of Bavaria, was chosen in his room king of Germany. This reverse of fortune had such an effect upon Charles, who was then in a bad state of health, that he died on the 14th of January following, and in him ended the race of Carlovingian kings, who had been sovereigns of Italy upwards of one hundred years.

Charles is deposed, and dies soon after.

A. D. 888.

Arnolphus succeeds to the crown of Germany.

Upon the death of Charles, the French chose Eudes, count of Paris and Orleans, for their king, and Lewis the son of Boson obtained the kingdom of Provence; but the fate of Italy remained for some time uncertain. The nobles of this kingdom at this time most eminent for wealth and power were Berengarius, duke of Friuli, who, by his mother, was great-grandson of Charlemagne; and Guido, or Vido, duke of Spoleto, who was the son of duke Lambert, and a daughter of Pepin, king of Italy, and son of Charlemagne [d]. These two nobles, even while Charles was alive, had entered into a secret treaty, that, if he died without children, Vido should seize upon the kingdom of France, and Berengarius upon that of Italy. Immediately after the death of the emperor, Berengarius succeeded to the crown of Italy, without dispute, and Vido, with the concurrence of the pope, went to take possession of the kingdom of France [e]: but the French having chosen Eudes, or Otho, count of Paris, for their king, Guido returned disappointed into Italy. In the mean time, Berengarius, attended by many of the nobles and bishops, went to Pavia, where he was crowned by Anselm, archbishop of Milan, and making that city the place of his residence, he began his reign with granting privileges to the cities, monasteries, and churches. While Berengarius and Eudes were establishing themselves in their new kingdoms, Raul, or Rodolphus, son of Conrad, count of Paris, who was grandson of Conrad, brother of the empress Judith, and wife of Charles the Bald [f], seized upon Burgundy Transjurane, which comprehends what is at present called Swifferland, and caused himself to be acknowleged king.

Eudes chosen king of France.

Berengarius crowned king of Italy.

[d] Annal. Fuldens. [e] Sigon. lib. vi. p. 140. [f] Antiq. de la Maison de France, M. de S. Aubin. p. 202.

A. D. 889. In the mean time Guido, or Guy, duke of Spoleto, being disappointed in his designs upon France, began to form pretensions upon the kingdom of Italy Having prevailed upon the pope and the nobles of Rome to favour his interest, towards the end of the year he was declared king by his faction; so that Italy, by his ambition, was divided into two opposite parties, who persecuted each other with the utmost hatred and malice. Though the cause of Berengarius was the most just, yet Guido being countenanced by the pope, his party quickly became the strongest. Thus strengthened, he raised an army, and marched against Berengarius, who had likewise assembled an army for his own defence, and had marched to the river Trebia, to oppose his competitor. The two armies engaged on the banks of that river, and, after a desperate engagement, Berengarius was entirely defeated, and obliged to retire with his shattered troops. Two months afterwards, Berengarius having assembled another army, again marched against his enemy, whom he engaged at Bressa, but was so entirely defeated, that he was obliged to retire into Germany, and beg the assistance of Arnolphus. Upon the departure of Berengarius, Guido went to Pavia, and the year following reduced all Lombardy without much opposition. Having now obtained possession of the kingdom of Italy, he went to Rome, and was crowned emperor by pope Stephen, on the 19th of February. That he might shew himself grateful to the pope, he confirmed the grants of Pepin and Charlemagne in favour of the holy see, and, upon his return to Pavia, held an assembly of the states, where he enacted several laws against robbers and disturbers of the public peace. Berengarius, who had fled into Germany, solicited assistance from Arnolphus, and promised to hold his kingdom from him, if he should be enabled, by his assistance, to recover it. Arnolphus, whose ambition aimed at the imperial dignity, accepted of this condition, and accordingly sent his son Zuentibold with an army into Italy, who marched directly to besiege Pavia; but Guido having fortified the bank of the river Vervar, which runs near the town, and placed his troops in the fortifications, Zuentibold could not attack the town before he had engaged the enemy[g]. Notwithstanding these precautians, the army of Guido was soon reduced to great difficulties; for the inhabitants of the country, favouring the cause of Berengarius, carried

Vido duke of Spoleto pretends to the kingdom of Italy.

A. D. 890.

Berengarius is defeated by Vido, and retires into Germany.

Arnolphus sends an army into Italy against Vido, but without success.

[g] Luitprand, lib. i. cap. 6, 7.

all

all their provisions to the German camp, so that the Italians were quickly in great want of provisions and forage: but the armies continuing on both sides of the river without action, Guido at length corrupted Zuentibold with a large sum of money, and prevailed upon him to return with his army to Germany. Having thus freed himself from the German arms, he associated his son Lambert with him in the empire.

The Saracens invade the northern parts of Italy.

While Guido was engaged in defending his kingdom against Berengarius, the Saracens from Spain landing in Italy, took possession of a castle near the Alps, which they held for many years afterwards, to the great damage of the neighbouring country, which they ravaged by their frequent incursions. During these disturbances in the northern parts of Italy, Aio was besieged in Benevento by Symbaticius, general of the Greek emperor, who, after a siege of three months, made himself master of the place, which now returned under subjection to the Greeks, after having been governed one hundred and thirty years by Lombard dukes. Berengarius, who had retired with Zuentibold's army into Germany, after continuing a year and a half in that kingdom; at last prevailed with Arnolphus to march in person into Italy, against Guido; accordingly, an army being assembled, Arnolphus, taking Berengarius along with him, marched into Italy, and arrived at Verona about the middle of November; from Verona, in the beginning of the year, he marched to Bergamo, which, trusting to the strength of its fortifications, shut its gates against him. Arnolphus, before he proceeded farther, resolved to make himself master of this place. accordingly, it was besieged and taken, and, as a terror to the other cities, he caused Ambrose the governor to be hanged before the walls. Intimidated by this severity, the inhabitants of Milan, Pavia, and Placenza, immediately submitted. Arnolphus sent Otho the Saxon, grandfather of Otho the Great, to take possession of Milan, and marched himself directly for Pavia, where he replaced Berengarius, and afterwards pursued Guido, who had fled with his wife towards Spoleto: when he came to Placenza he desisted from his pursuit, and repassed the Alps with his army to act against Rodolphus king of Burgundy. Guido, being informed of the departure of Arnolphus, hasted back into Lombardy; but, when he came to Placenza, he was seized with a vomiting of blood, of which he immediately died. Berengarius, who was then at Verona with an army, hearing of the death of Guido, immediately return-

A. D. 893.

Arnolphus marches into Italy.

But returns suddenly against Rodolphus king of Burgundy.

ed to Pavia, and took poſſeſſion of the government without a rival: but the nobles who had favoured the cauſe of Guido, deſpairing of being pardoned by Berengarius, continued ſtill to oppoſe his government, and promiſed their aſſiſtance to Lambert, Guido's ſon, if he would claim the kingdom. Lambert, being excited by his mother Ageltrude, accepted of their offer, and, aſſembling an army, marched againſt Berengarius, who being deſerted by moſt of his friends, quitted Pavia, and returned to Verona, leaving the kingdom to Lambert, without making any oppoſition. Berengarius being now unable to make farther diſturbance, Lambert left Pavia, and went to Rome, which at this time was diſturbed by the ambition of Sergius, who, in revenge for the preference that was given to Formoſus at the laſt election, continued to moleſt his government, in which he was aſſiſted by many of the nobles, and eſpecially by Adelbert, count of Tuſcany. Lambert, when he came to Rome, joined the faction of Sergius, though he had been crowned by Formoſus. This ſtep alarmed the pope, who wrote letters to Arnolphus, offering him the crown, provided he would come with an army into Italy, to oppoſe the inſolence and tyranny of Lambert. Arnolphus willingly embracing this opportunity of ſatisfying his ambition, in the month of October, marched with an army into Italy, which, after he had paſſed the Po, he divided into two bodies, ordering the one to march by Bologna to Florence; the other he led himſelf by the ſea-coaſt to l'Erici, where he kept his Chriſtmas: marching afterwards to Rome, he encamped before that part of the city called Leonine, from Leo IV. who incloſed it with a wall againſt the invaſions of the Saracens. Ageltrude, who had been left by Lambert to take care of the city, upon the approach of the Germans, had fled to the dukedom of Spoleto: however, the Romans truſting to their own ſtrength, refuſed to open their gates to Arnolphus, who thereupon reſolved to gain admittance by force, and immediately beſieged the city. During theſe tranſactions, Berengarius, who now perceived that Arnolphus was acting more for his own intereſt than to ſerve him, quitted the German camp. In the beginning of the ſiege the Romans made a pretty vigorous defence, but by a particular accident the Germans made themſelves maſters of the city; for a hare ſtarting, and running towards the city, as they were marching to the attack, the whole army raiſed a ſhout, and ran after it. The Romans, not ſeeing the hare, but obſerving the enemy

Lambert ſucceeds his father Guido, and obliges Berengarius to leave Pavia.

The pope offers the empire to Arnolphus king of Germany,

A. D. 896.

who beſieges and takes Rome;

enemy running at such a pace, were struck with a panic, and abandoned the walls; which circumstance being perceived by the Germans, they quickly filled up the fosse, broke open the gates, got possession of the city [h], and obliged those who were beyond the Tiber to surrender. Arnolphus being now master of Rome, expelled Sergius, and slew all those of his faction who had opposed him; Sigonius says, that he neither spared women, children, priests, nor nuns.

and is crowned emperor by Formosus;

Formosus being thus delivered from the faction that oppressed him, received the king of Germany with great respect, and leading him to the Confession of the Apostles, crowned him emperor, giving him the titles of Cæsar and Augustus. After this ceremony, Arnolphus received the allegiance of the Romans, and leaving Farold, one of his officers, governor of the city, he marched to Camers, against Ageltrude. This woman finding herself unable to defeat her enemy by force, had recourse to deceit, and by presents prevailed with a certain officer, an intimate of the emperor, to give him a potion, which she assured him was quite innocent, and only tended to mollify his resentment against her. The officer accordingly took an opportunity of administering the potion to the emperor, which he had no sooner drank than he was seized with a lethargic sleep, which continued for three days. When he awaked, he did not recover the power of speech, and seemed also to have lost his understanding; so that his friends found it necessary to raise the siege, and continue their march to Lombardy. When they arrived at the mountain Bardo, the emperor began to recover the use of his faculties, and formed the design of seizing the kingdom of Italy, and putting out the eyes of Berengarius, who had been pardoned by him, and again returned to his camp. Berengarius being informed of this design, immediately left him, and fled to Verona, where he published the intended treachery; which so irritated the Italians, that, when the Germans came to Pavia, the inhabitants rose in the night, and killed great numbers of them. Arnolphus, finding himself odious to the Italians, made all haste into Germany; but, not daring to march by Verona, where Berengarius had assembled some troops, he took the road of Milan, and repassed the Alps at Montijoux.

Soon after the emperor had returned to Germany, Formosus died at Rome, which city was thrown into the ut-

[h] Luitprand, lib. i. cap. 8. Sigon. lib. vi. p. 143.

most

who dies soon after, whereby Rome is thrown in to the greatest confusion.

most confusion by his successors in the papal dignity. Boniface VI died fifteen days after his election, and was succeeded by Stephen VII. who was elected by the Sergian faction, to gratify whom he began his pontificate with judging his predecessor Formosus, whose body he caused to be dug out of the grave, and stripping it of the pontifical habit, ordered it to be thrown into the Tiber. Not contented with this revenge, he annulled all his acts, declaring Lambert emperor, and the ordination of all those ordained by Formosus to be void. Stephen is said by some to have enjoyed the papal dignity three years [i]; but others say that, after he had sat one year, he was thrown into prison, and strangled [k], and was succeeded by Romanus, who reversed all his decrees, and caused the body of Formosus, which had been thrown up by the tide, to be buried in the Vatican church. Romanus, after five months, was succeeded by Theodore II. who died twenty days after his election. Upon his death, the Sergian faction again endeavoured to elect Sergius, but the other party prevailed, and chose John IX. who in the course of the following year called a council at Ravenna, whither he invited the emperor Lambert. The council consisted of seventy-four bishops, and the pope and Lambert being present, they annulled the coronation of Arnolphus, and prohibited Sergius or his excommunicated associates to be restored: they likewise annulled the former decree of Adrian, and ordained that the elected popes should not be consecrated but in the presence of the emperor or his ambassadors.

A. D. 898.

The Italian nobles again favour Berengarius;

During these transactions at Rome and Ravenna, Berengarius continued at Friuli, and was not without hopes of recovering the kingdom; for the Italian nobles hating the arbitrary government of Lambert, began to think of restoring Berengarius; and Mangifroy, count of Milan, not only opposed Lambert in that province, but also made irruptions into the territories subject to him. Adelbert, count of Tuscany, who was at that time by far the richest man in Italy, being joined by count Hildebrand, likewise declared against Lambert, and began secretly to raise troops. Lambert, who had seized and executed Mangifroy, thought thereby to deter the rest from favouring Berengarius; but as he was hunting in the forest of Marino, he was informed of the revolt of Adelbert and Hildebrand. Having in-

[i] Baron. in Vit. Serg. Stephani.

[k] Sigon. lib. vi. p. 144. Epita.

telligence

telligence where they were encamped, he took with him one hundred men, and falling upon them at night, they immediately diſperſed; but Adelbert and ſeveral other nobles were taken priſoners, and conducted to Pavia, there to be tried. Lambert, being ſoon after engaged in hunting, and, upon account of fatigue, repoſing himſelf under a tree, was ſlain by Hugo, the ſon of the count of Milan, who was then the only perſon attending him. Upon the news of the death of Lambert, Berengarius immediately quitted Verona, and came to Pavia; and having ſet Adelbert and the other priſoners at liberty, applied himſelf to the eſtabliſhment of his government: but many of thoſe who had hitherto oppoſed Berengarius, were not reconciled to him, even by the death of Lambert; but, deſirous of ſetting up a competitor, and finding none whom they approved of in Italy, they ſent a meſſage to Lewis, the ſon of Boſon, and king of Arles, offering him their kingdom, provided he would expel Berengarius. The author and chief of this conſpiracy was Adelbert, marquis of Ivrea, who had married a daughter of Berengarius, by whom he had a ſon of the ſame name. Lewis made no ſcruple of accepting the offered kingdom, but raiſed an army as ſoon as poſſible, for taking poſſeſſion of what he reckoned his inheritance, in right of his grandfather Lewis II. Berengarius, in the mean time, was not idle in making preparations to oppoſe him: he went to Adelbert, count of Tuſcany, and repreſenting to him the deteſtable nature of the conſpiracy, prevailed with him to give his utmoſt aſſiſtance in oppoſing the foreign invaſion. Accordingly the following year, when Lewis had entered Italy with an army, Berengarius, being joined by the count of Tuſcany, and the nobles who were influenced by him, oppoſed his competitor with a ſuperior army, and ſurrounded him in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible for him to eſcape, ſo that he was obliged to ſue for peace, and leave to retire, which was granted to him, upon his ſwearing never again to enter Italy, although he ſhould be invited to be crowned emperor.

but a faction of the nobles offer their crown to Lewis, king of Arles.

A. D. 899.

who is forced to renounce his claim.

While Berengarius was thus engaged in oppoſing the king of Arles, Radelchis, prince of Benevento, was depoſed by Atenulphus Gaſtald of Capua, who ſeized his principality, which continued in his poſterity for almoſt two hundred years. Soon after his taking poſſeſſion of Benevento, he raiſed an army, and went to attack the fort of the Saracens on the Garigliano; but, being ſurpriſed by them

Atenulphus ſeizes the dukedom of Benevento.

them in the night, he was forced to retire to the river, with considerable loss: however, the next day, the fight being renewed, the Saracens were entirely defeated, and forced back into their town, and, for some time afterwards, did not venture to make any inroads into the country. In the end of this year died Arnolphus, king of Germany, and soon after the states chose his son Lewis for their king; who, during his whole reign, had no concern with the affairs of Italy[1].

A. D. 900.

Lewis is again invited into Italy,

In the mean time the enemies of Berengarius used their utmost endeavours to recall Lewis, king of Arles; and his mother Hermengarde, finding that Berengarius was chiefly supported by the count of Tuscany, spared no pains to prevail with him to favour the interests of her son. Adelbert at last, being influenced by means of his wife Bertha, abandoned the party of Berengarius, and the greatest part of Lombardy following his example, the crown of Italy was again offered to Lewis, who, having no regard to his oath, but being now sure of obtaining the kingdom of Italy, as he had got the count of Tuscany on his side, immediately assembled a greater army than the former, and marched towards Italy. He had no sooner passed the Alps than he was joined by Adelbert, and the greatest part of the nobles of Lombardy; which junction Berengarius being informed of, he did not think fit to hazard a battle, but quitted Pavia, and retired to Verona. Lewis, upon his arrival at Pavia, was received by the nobles and people with great demonstrations of joy, and being soon after crowned king of Italy, studied to secure the affections of the clergy, by granting privileges to several bishops; which means of conciliating the favour of the people were at this time likewise practised by Berengarius; for the charters granted by these princes in the same year to the bishops of Modena and Reggio were extant six hundred years afterwards. In the course of the following year Lewis, attended by a great many nobles, went to Rome, where he received the imperial crown from pope Benedict IV. and having renewed the grant of former emperors to that church, he returned directly to Pavia. In the mean time the Hunns, who, three years before, had defeated the Germans near Augsburgh, and had over-run Bavaria, Suabia, Franconia, and Saxony, pillaging and burning wherever they went, invaded Italy with a consider-

and is crowned king of Italy at Pavia.

A. D. 901.

The Hunns enter Italy with an army.

[1] Sigon. ubi supra.

able

able army, and encamped upon the Brenta near Padua, from whence they sent several spies to examine the populousness and fertility of the country. They reporting that the country was exceeding rich, but very full of people, the Hunns quickly decamped, and marched back into their own country, to make greater preparations against the next year [m].

Lewis, not being alarmed at the incursion of this new and unknown enemy, was wholly intent upon expelling his rival Berengarius, and, for that purpose, in the beginning of autumn, marched with his army towards Verona, which motion Berengarius being informed of, he fled immediately into Bavaria, to wait for a more favourable opportunity of asserting his right. Having provided for the security of Verona, Lewis returned to Pavia, and in the following year made a progress into Tuscany, and visited the count at Lucca. Being surprised at the magnificence of his entertainment, and the numerous and splendid retinue of Adelbert, he made the following reflection to one of his friends, "That Adelbert might rather be called a king than a count, for he seemed inferior to himself in nothing but the title." This expression coming to the ears of Bertha, she told her husband, who, from that moment, became his enemy, and favoured the interest of Berengarius. Lewis, having finished his progress through the kingdom, returned to Verona, and, by the advice of Adelard the bishop, dismissed his army. Berengarius, who was watching every opportunity of recovering his kingdom, being informed that Lewis had disbanded his forces, left Bavaria in the end of July, and came privately to Verona. Having corrupted the guards, he entered the city in the night; and being joined by a few of his friends, passed the river Athesis, which runs through the town, and towards break of day attacked the palace, which was seated on a hill. Lewis finding himself thus surprised, fled for sanctuary to a church; but being observed by one of the soldiers of Berengarius, he was immediately seized, and his eyes were put out [n].

A. D. 902.

Lewis obliges Berengarius to fly into Bavaria.

Berengarius surprises Lewis at Verona, and orders his eyes to be put out.

Berengarius, having thus forced his rival to abdicate the throne, returned to Pavia, and took possession of his kingdom, which he governed for twenty years, without any opposition from his subjects, who now began to be sensible from the effects, how great calamity their country was exposed to by their civil discords. Berengarius

[m] Sigon. ubi supra. [n] Luitpr. lib. ii.

had

had hardly got possession of his kingdom, when he was alarmed with an irruption of the Hungarians, who, with a numerous army, entered Italy by Friuli. Passing Aquileia and Verona, they marched towards Como and Bergamo, and having plundered and burnt the country as they passed, directed their route for Pavia. Berengarius, having alarmed his whole kingdom, drew together an immense army, which so terrified the Hungarians, that they immediately resolved upon a retreat; but having lost a great many men in passing the Adda, they sent to Berengarius, offering to deliver up all their booty, and never again to enter Italy, provided they were allowed a safe retreat. The Italians disdaining to grant them any terms, the Hungarians were driven to despair, and attacking their enemy, defeated them with great slaughter. After this victory, the Hungarians again over-run the country, and plundered Treviso, Vicenza, and Padua, without resistance, the inhabitants every where flying into the fortified towns for safety. During the winter the Barbarians made some unsuccessful attempts upon the islands of the Venetians, but in the spring again over-ran the continent of Italy, plundering and destroying ever place that was not fortified.

The Hunns invade Italy, and defeat Berengarius.

Who purchases their departure by a large sum of money.

A. D. 904.

Berengarius at last having prevailed with the Barbarians to leave Italy, by paying them a large sum of money, applied himself to repair the devastations which they had committed, as appears by the charters granted by him to some churches. This year died pope Benedict, who was succeeded by Leo V. a person of an abandoned character, but nevertheless acceptable to the prevailing faction of the Romans, who were governed by Theodora the concubine, and according to some authors the wife, of Adelbert, count of Tuscany, then in possession of the strong castle of St. Angelo, who had prostituted herself and two daughters to several of the popes [o]. Leo, forty days after his election, was seized by Christopher, who forcing him to abdicate his dignity, caused himself to be declared pope without any election. Sergius, who twice before attempted to obtain the papal dignity, imitating the example of Christopher, seized upon him, with the connivance of the count of Tuscany, and forcing him to become a monk, declared himself his successor [p]. The transactions of Italy, during the rest of the reign of Berengarius, lie under very great obscurity. In the following year

[o] Baron. an. in Vit. Christopheri. [p] Sigon, lib. vi. p. 151.

the

the Hugarians invaded Friuli, and met with no reſiſtance, the Italians being afraid to meet them in the field. They were ſcarcely gone, when the Saracens, who had ſettled at the foot of the Alps, made an irruption as far as Acqui, in the neighbourhood of Pavia, while the inhabitants, inſtead of oppoſing them, fled for ſecurity to ſome forts that had been erected in the country during the firſt irruption of the Hungarians. Whilſt the Saracens from the Alps infeſted the northern parts of Italy, others from Africa invaded Apulia and Calabria, the emperor Leo not daring to reſent the affront. Berengarius, in the mean time, employed himſelf in providing for the future ſecurity of his kingdom, and in cauſing the churches and monaſteries to be rebuilt that had been burnt by the Hungarians. A. D. 905.

The Hunns again invade Italy, which, at the ſame time, is infeſted by the Saracens.

Pope Sergius dying ſoon after, Anaſtaſius IV. was choſen in his room, from whom Berengarius requeſted ſome privileges for the biſhop of Pavia. As he could not procure the metropolitan dignity for that church, he obtained leave for the biſhop of uſing an umbrella, of riding on a white horſe, of having the croſs carried before him, and of ſitting on the left hand of the pope at a council. At the requeſt likewiſe of the biſhop of Padua, he ordered that church, which had been burnt by the Hunns, to be rebuilt, and conferred upon it a new charter, which is dated in the 25th year of his reign. This ſame year Anaſtaſius dying, was ſucceeded by Lando, who ſurvived his predeceſſor only a few months, and was ſucceeded by John X. who was not choſen according to the canons, but intruded by the power of Adelbert count of Tuſcany, at the ſolicitations of Theodora. This moſt impudent and moſt powerful ſtrumpet ſays Luitprand [q], having an intrigue with John, preſbyter of Ravenna, cauſed him to be elected biſhop of Bologna; and the archbiſhop of Ravenna dying ſoon after, ſhe procured that archbiſhoprick for him: but, not contented with having him two hundred miles diſtant from her, ſhe took an opportunity, at the death of Lando, of obtruding him into the papal dignity. A. D. 912.

John X. elected to the papal dignity by means of Theodora.

John having now arrived at the higheſt preferment, began to regulate the affairs of the church, and provide for the ſecurity of Italy againſt the Saracens, who daily infeſted the Roman territories. Mean while, one of the Saracens, who had received an injury from his country-

[q] Luitpr. lib. ii. cap. 13.

men,

men, fled to Rome, and offered to deliver the Romans from their incursions, if the pope would allow him a small body of men. His proposal being hearkened to, sixty young men were chosen, and completely armed, who being conducted by the Saracen into bye-paths, attacked the infidels as they were returning from their inroads, and several times defeated great parties of them. These losses affecting the Saracens, a general alliance was concluded among all their cities; and the fortified town on the Garigliano being judged the strongest, they abandoned the rest and repaired thither. In consequence of this alliance the Saracens became more formidable than before; which circumstance alarming the pope, he consulted with Atenulphus, prince of Benevento and Capua, and sent ambassadors to Constantine the Greek emperor, and to the Spoletans, and the inhabitants of Camers, inviting them to an alliance against the Saracens. The Greek emperor, influenced by the activity of the pope, the year following sent Nicholas the patrician, with a great body of Greeks, who being joined by the Capuans, Beneventans, and Salernitans, encamped near the Garigliano, while John, with the count Adelbert, the Spoletans, and inhabitants of Camerino, besieged the place on the other side. The Saracens supported the siege for three months with great vigour; but at last, being put to great distress for want of provisions, they set fire to the town, and sallied out to the neighbouring woods and mountains. The Italians pursuing them forced them to an engagement, in which they were all cut off to a man. Some authors make no mention of a siege, but relate that the Saracens, being defeated by the Italians, fled to a mountain near the Garigliano, which was immediately beset by their enemy, who, by continual skirmishes with the infidels, entirely extirpated them. This victory was of so great importance to Italy, that the historians of those times say, that the apostles Peter and Paul appeared fighting for the Christians[r].

He forms an alliance against the Saracens,

who are entirely extirpated by the allies.

A. D. 915. There is no mention of any assistance that Berengarius gave in this expedition, but it is more than probable that he was greatly concerned, for, by charters granted by him, it is evident that this year he obtained the imperial crown from the pope. In the year following, being at Pavia, he granted new privileges to the church of Cremona, which had suffered greatly by the Hunns; and Adelbert count of Tuscany dying soon after, he confirmed his son Vido in

Berengarius is crowned emperor by the pope.

[r] Sigon. lib. vi. p. 153. Luitpr. lib. ii. cap. 14.

the

the possession of his estates. Bertha his mother, who had been greatly ambitious of the imperial dignity for her husband, now attempted the same in favour of her son, and began to cabal against the emperor. Berengarius being informed of her secret practices, marched with an army into Tuscany, and taking her and her son prisoners, conducted them, under a guard, to Mantua; but not being able to reduce any of the cities belonging to the count, he was reconciled to his two prisoners, and set them both at liberty. Bertha, in revenge for her imprisonment, formed a new conspiracy against Berengarius, which broke out a few years afterwards. The chief of the conspirators was Adelbert, marquis of Ivrea, who had formerly married the emperor's daughter, but she being dead, he had now contracted an alliance with the count of Tuscany, by marrying his sister. He was joined in the conspiracy by Olderic, count of the palace, and another count named Gilbert, and many other Italian nobles; but their treason being discovered, Olderic was seized, and committed to the keeping of one Lambert, who, a few months before, by the favour of Berengarius, had obtained the archbishoprick of Milan.

A. D. 917.

Adelbert count of Tuscany dies, and is succeeded by his son Vido; who forms a conspiracy against the emperor.

A new conspiracy formed by the marquis of Ivrea.

Some days afterwards Berengarius demanding Adelbert to cause him to be put to death, Lambert refused to deliver him up, alleging that it was unbecoming his profession to be concerned in the death of any person. Dreading the resentment of the emperor for this refusal, he dismissed Olderic, and joined the conspirators, who were then considering of a fit person to be set up in opposition to Berengarius. Having at last fixed upon Rodolphus, king of Burgundy, they sent an embassy to him, inviting him to come into Italy, promising to assist him in expelling Berengarius. For this purpose they held frequent conferences, and began to assemble some troops in the neighbourhood of Brescia. In the mean time, the Hungarians made an irruption into Italy, and advanced as far as Verona, being probably invited by Berengarius, who had some time before made an alliance with them. At his desire they unexpectedly attacked the rebels near Brescia, killed Olderic, and took Albert and Gilbert prisoners. Albert escaped in disguise, but Gilbert they stripped almost naked, beat in a most cruel manner, and brought bound to the emperor. Berengarius, instead of punishing him as a traitor, ordered him to be dressed, and, telling him that he trusted to his honour for his future fidelity, generously dismissed him. This lenity of the emperor had but a very

Lambert, archbishop of Milan, joins the conspirators;

A. D. 921.

who are unexpectedly attacked by the Hunns.

bad effect upon Gilbert, for he directly joined the rebels, and being sent by them to Rodolphus, conducted his army over the Alps.

Rodolphus is crowned king of Italy;

Rodolphus had no sooner entered Italy than he was joined by the forces of the rebels; and, by their assistance, having obliged Berengarius to retire to Verona, he was soon after crowned at Pavia by Lambert. The Italians received him with great appearance of joy; but he had not enjoyed his new dignity many months, before parties began to be formed in favour of Berengarius, who now returned with an army to Placenza, to dispute the crown with his competitor. The two armies engaged in the neighbourhood of that city, and, after an obstinate dispute, victory inclined to favour Berengarius, when a party of the enemy, that had been in ambush, renewed the dispute with fresh vigour, and, after a great slaughter, defeated the emperor, and obliged him to fly to Verona. After this victory Rodolphus returned to Pavia, and having settled the affairs of Italy, and created his brother-in-law Boniface marquis of Spoleto and Camers, for his great services in the late action, he went to visit his kingdom of Burgundy. The following year, which was the thirty-sixth of the reign of Berengarius, was likewise the last of his life; for the inhabitants of Verona, who had hitherto continued always faithful to him, began now to plot against him. The chief of the conspirators was one Flambert, to whose son Berengarius had stood godfather. Being now informed of the conspiracy, he sent for Flambert, and told him that the many instances of friendship that had passed between them, would not let him believe that he had conspired against him, especially when he considered that his future preferment depended wholly upon his prosperity. At the same time he presented him with a golden cup, and desiring him to drink what was contained in it to his health, he made him a present of the cup itself, and told him, that, if he found him faithful, Flambert would find him grateful. Flambert having made such an answer as freed the king from suspicion, immediately retired, and consulted with his associates how to cut him off the following night. Early next morning, Berengarius having entered the church for his devotions, in his usual manner, without any guards, the conspirators rushed in after him; and Berengarius enquiring into the cause of the tumult, Flambert called out to him not to be concerned, for these armed men were only for his defence: accordingly he trusted himself among them

A. D. 922.

and defeats Berengarius near Placenza.

them without suspicion, but was immediately killed by one of the traitors, by a blow on the back part of his neck. The conspirators did not long survive their treachery, but were apprehended the third day after, by Milo, count of the city, who ordered them all to be hanged. A. D. 624. *Berengarius is assassinated.*

Berengarius being slain, and Rodolphus absent, the Hungarians resolved to improve this opportunity for invading Italy; and accordingly having entered Lombardy, under their general Salardus, they took and plundered Mantua, Brescia, and Bergamo. Marching afterwards to Pavia, they invested it on every side, and, about the middle of March, taking the advantage of the wind, they set fire to the houses next the walls, and during the confusion, broke open the gates, and got possession of the place, were they committed all manner of barbarity. Having burnt the capital of the kingdom[s], they advanced to Placenza, and burnt the monastery of St. Sextus, in the suburbs of that city, and, being loaded with booty, returned to Pannonia. Rodolphus, hearing of the death of Berengarius, and the irruption of the Hungarians, made haste into Italy. Arriving at Verona, to support his faction in that city, he confirmed the privileges granted by former kings to the church of Padua. The death of Berengarius, and the absence of Rodolphus, afforded the Italians an occasion of a new conspiracy, which was encouraged by Ermengarde, the widow of the marquis of Ivrea, in hopes of raising one of her sons to the kingdom. As she was possessed of great wealth, she got a party of the nobles to favour her, and raising some troops the following year, surprised Pavia. Rodolphus, alarmed at these hostilities, retired to Verona, and, by the assistance of the archbishop Lambert, raised an army, with which he marched to recover the capital, and encamped within five miles of that city, at the confluence of the Po and Tezino. During the continuance of the siege, Ermengarde, finding herself too weak to defend the place, privately made her peace with Rodolphus, and, by a deceitful message, prevailed with him to abandon his own army, and come into the town. The nobles of his army, alarmed at the flight of their general, retired to Milan, as a place of defence, being informed that Rodolphus intended to attack them at the head of his new friends[t]. A. D. 925. *The Hungarians take Pavia.* *Rodolphus returns to Italy, but is obliged to quit Pavia.*

[s] Sigon. lib. vi. p. 155. [t] Idem ibid.

Adelbert, count of Tuscany, invites the Hungarians into Italy.

While Rodolphus, by his imprudent behaviour, thus disobliged those friends who had hitherto supported him, Adelbert, count of Tuscany, having had some dispute with the pope, was obliged to quit Rome. He retired to Orti, in Tuscany, and invited the Hungarians into Italy, to revenge his quarrel against the Romans. The Hungarians accepted of his invitation; but, instead of attacking the Romans, they fell upon Tuscany, and carried off a great booty; while the Romans, in revenge for the injury intended them, attacked Orti, and slew Adelbert. The Italians having now almost wholly revolted from Rodolphus, the following year the archbishop of Milan, by the advice of the pope, and many of the nobles, offered the crown of Italy to Hugh, count of Arles, the grandson of Lotharius, king of Lorrain, by his daughter Berta, who was maried first to Lotharius, count of Arles, and afterwards to Adelbert, count of Tuscany. Hugh, during the life of Berengarius, had made some unsuccessful attempts to obtain the kingdom of Italy; but now having an invitation from the greatest part of the nobles, he made no doubt of succeeding, and accordingly made great preparations for his expedition. Rodolphus, having discovered the designs of the Italians, went immediately to Burgundy, where he raised an army, and, being joined by Burchard duke of Suabia, his father-in-law, he returned to Italy before Hugh was in a condition to move with his forces. Having advanced as far as Ivrea, Rodolphus sent Burchard to Milan, to try the inclination of Lambert. Burchard, before he entered the city, turned aside to the church of St. Laurence, upon account of devotion; and having observed a place proper for building a castle, he said to those of his retinue, when riding round the walls, "I am not Burchard, if I do not make the Italians content to ride upon bad horses with one spur." Some Italians, who understood the German language, overhearing this speech, immediately informed Lambert, who dissembling his knowlege of it, received Burchard very courteously, but at the same time excited the inhabitants of Pavia and the Italian nobles to conspire his death. Accordingly, upon his return towards Ivrea, they set upon him at Novara, and having slain him, they attacked his attendants, and, dragging them from the church of St. Gaudentius, put them all to death. Rodolphus being informed of the fate of Burchard, thought it in vain to attempt any thing farther, but retreated with his army to Burgundy.

A. D. 926.

The archbishop of Milan offers the crown of Italy to Hugh, count of Arles.

In

In the mean time Hugh, being afraid of the land forces of Rodolphus, came by sea to Italy. He landed at Pisa, in the month of July, and went directly for Pavia, where he was crowned by the archbishop of Milan. Soon after he went to Verona, and from thence to Mantua, where he entered into an alliance with the pope, and then returned to Pavia [u]. During these transactions, Marozia the daughter of Theodora, and widow of Adelbert count of Tuscany, being in possession of the castle of St. Angelo, married Vido, marquis of Tuscany, whom she excited against the pope, with whom she had been for some time at enmity. In the mean time Hugh was employed in securing the possession of his kingdom by foreign alliances. He concluded an alliance with Henry, king of Germany, and procured the friendship of Romanus, the Greek emperor, by many valuable presents, some of which had like to have been fatal to that emperor; for two large mastiffs, when they were brought into his presence, being struck with the imperial ornaments, attacked Romanus, mistaking him for a wild beast, and with great difficulty were prevented from tearing him in pieces. Hugh likewise made an alliance with Ursus, doge of Venice, and renewed the privileges formerly granted to that republic; besides, he had the good fortune to quell a conspiracy of some malecontents, which threatened his life, and, by his prudent management in that first commotion, struck a terror into the rest of his subjects. There was one Valpertus in Pavia, a lawyer of great wealth and high reputation, who had procured the bishoprick of Como for his son, and married his daughter to Gilbert, count of the palace. This man had prevailed with one Eberhard, a relation, and several others, to enter into a conspiracy against the life of the king; which being discovered to Hugh, he sent for Valpertus and Eberhard, and reproving them in a gentle manner, declared, that, if he had done them any injury, he would make them full satisfaction. The traitors, unaffected with this gentleness of the king, were only more earnest in hastening the execution of their plot. Hugh, dissembling his knowlege of their designs, pretended a reason for leaving Pavia; but, having concerted his measures with Leo, the bishop, and one count Sampson, a capital enemy of Eberhard, he soon after returned: the conspiraiors, thinking this opportunity proper for executing their purpose, went out in the

Hugh crowned at Pavia.

A. D. 927.

Concludes an alliance with the king of Germany and the emperor of Constantinople.

[u] Luitpr. lib. iii. cap. 4. in fin.

usual manner to meet the king; but Leo having shut the gates, they were immediately attacked by Samp on, and taken prisoners. Eberhard had his eyes put out, Valpertus was executed, and the rest were imprisoned. By the punishment of these conspirators Hugh made himself feared, not only in Pavia, but over all Italy [w].

A. D. 928. In the mean time, Marozia continued to excite her husband Vido against the pope; accordingly, in the following year, he took an opportunity of rushing with armed men into the Lateran, and having slain Peter the pope's brother, seized upon John, and thrust him into prison, where he was soon after suffocated [x]. Vido survived the pope but a very short time, and left his possessions to his brother Lambert. In the mean time, Marozia being resolved upon having a husband, sent an embassy to Hugh, who was brother to her late husband, offering him the government of Rome, on condition of his marrying her. Hugh, embracing this opportunity of increasing his dominion, marched immediately to Rome, and leaving his army without the city, was received into the castle, and having celebrated the marriage, got possession of the city without opposition; but a trifling accident gave occasion to his being quickly expelled; for Marozia having prevailed with her son Alberic to furnish water for washing her husband's hands, Hugh, offended with his aukward manner, struck him a blow on the face. The young man, enraged at this affront, went to the Romans, and reproaching them for their meanness in submitting to a Burgundian, who had acquired the government not by any merit, but by an incestuous marriage, he incited them to take arms against the intruder. The words of Alberic had such an effect upon the Romans, that they immediately declared him consul, and under his command attacked the castle. Hugh, not having time to strengthen the garrison by a reinforcement from his army, was obliged to consult his safety by letting himself down from that part of the castle next the city wall, and flying to his camp [y]. The Romans having expelled Hugh, seem to have had an intention of asserting their ancient liberty; for despising the authority both of the king and the pope, they not only appointed Alberic consul and patrician, but likewise named a prefect of the city, and tribunes of the

John X. is imprisoned and suffocated.

Hugh obtains the government of Rome;

but is expelled, and Alberic declared consul and patrician.

[w] Sigon. lib. vi. p. 156. Leo Ost. lib. i. cap. 57.

[x] Luitprand, lib. iii. cap. 12.

[y] Sigon. ubi supra.

people,

people, whom they called decarchons. Leo, who had succeeded John X. dying in the end of October, Stephen VII. was chosen in his room, who enjoyed the papal dignity little more than two years. Upon his death, Alberic appointed John XI. his successor, who was likewise a son of Marozia, whom she bore in adultery to pope Sergius.

A. D. 931.

In the mean time, Hugh, who, after his repulse at Rome had returned with ignominy to Pavia, began to be afraid lest the Italians should renounce their allegiance to him, and offer the kingdom to his half-brother, the marquis of Tuscany; therefore he resolved to effect his ruin. Having consulted with his brother Boson, he denied that Lambert was his brother, and sent a message to him, forbidding him to call himself by that name. Lambert, instead of complying with the king's message, declared he would assert by single combat, that he was born of the same mother with himself. The king, thinking he had got an opportunity of destroying him, accepted of the condition, and procured one Teduin, a strong young man, for his adversary. Lambert defeated his antagonist; nevertheless Hugh commanded him to be seized, and giving his marquisate to his brother Boson, soon after ordered his eyes to be put out. The king, by this cruelty towards his brother, alienated the minds of the Italians, who again offered their crown to Rodolphus. Hugh being informed of this defection, immediately entered into a treaty with Rodolphus, and by ceding to him a part of his kingdom of Arles, obtained from him a promise, which he confirmed by oath, that he would not set foot in Italy, or disturb him in the possession of that kingdom. In the mean time the Saracens, who were still in possession of some strong holds near the Alps, made an incursion as far as Acqui; but having lost their general, they retired without doing any considerable damage. Another body of Saracens from Africa landed at Genoa, surprised the city, slew the greatest part of the inhabitants, loaded their ships with wealth, and returned to Africa. The Italians, finding that Rodolphus refused to accept of their crown, made an offer of it to Arnold, or Arnolphus, duke of Bavaria, who soon after entered Italy by the valley of Trent, and advanced to Verona, where he was received by the count Milo, and the bishop Ratherius. Hugh, being informed of this invasion, immediately marched against Arnold, whom he entirely defeated, and

Hugh seizes upon Lambert, marquis of Tuscany, and confers his marquisate upon Boson his brother.

The Italians invite Rodolphus into Italy; who treats with Hugh.

A. D. 932.

The Saracens plunder Genoa. The Italians offer the crown to Arnold duke of Bavaria, who is defeated by Hugh.

obliged to return into Germany [a]; and having recovered Verona, he brought Ratherius prisoner with him to Pavia, where that bishop wrote a treatise upon his own disgrace. Hugh having quelled this sedition, for the greater security of his government, associated his son Lotharius with him in the kingdom, and caused him to be crowned by the archbishop of Milan soon after, concluding a marriage for him with Adelaide, the daughter of Rodolphus, king of Burgundy.

Hugh marches against Rome.

Having thus secured himself from foreign pretenders, Hugh raised a formidable army, with which he marched against Rome, to revenge the affront he had suffered from that city some years before. After continuing some time before the city, finding his efforts baffled by the vigour of the besieged, he turned his arms against the other cities of the Roman territory, many of which he reduced. While he was engaged in this war, Lombardy was ravaged by a kind of epidemical distemper or plague, which yielded to no remedies. In the course of the following year, Manasses bishop of Arles, a relation of Hugh, hearing of his great prosperity and power, abandoned his bishoprick, and coming into Italy, obtained from him the bishopricks of Verona, Trent, and Mantua [b]; but not content with these, Luitprand tells us, that he afterwards seized the archbishoprick of Milan; and obtaining likewise the marquisate of Trent, served in the king's army.

A. D. 936.

At this time Berengarius and Anscarius, the two sons of Adelbert, marquis of Ivrea, were eminent for their wealth and power. Berengarius was the grandson of the king of that name, by his daughter Gisla, the first wife of Adelbert; Anscarius was born of his second wife Ermengarde. Hugh, being afraid of their power, studied to secure their interest, by conferring favours upon them. He gave Villa, the daughter of his brother Boson, marquis of Tuscany, in marriage to Berengarius; and the following year Theobald, marquis of Spoleto, dying, he conferred his marquisate upon Anscarius. His resentment against the Romans abating, he concluded a peace with Alberic, and gave him his daughter in marriage [c]. In returning with his army, he was informed, that his brother Boson, instigated by his wife Villa, began to cabal against him,

Hugh concludes a peace with the Romans, and marries his daughter to Alberic.

[a] Sigebert, hoc anno. Luitprand, lib. iii. cap. 14. in fine.
[b] Sigon. lib. vi. p. 159.
[c] Flodoard. hoc anno. Luitprand lib. iv. cap. 1, 2, 3.

upon

upon which information, he ordered them both to be seized, and gave the marquisate of Tuscany to one Hubert.

Rodolphus, king of Burgundy, dying soon after, he married his widow Berta, and by his politic administration, confirmed his authority in Italy every day more and more. But notwithstanding his power, the Hungarians invaded Italy. They marched with a formidable army into Campania, and having plundered Capua, and the dukedom of Benevento, penetrated as far as Nola and Liburia; but after ravaging these countries, they were almost entirely cut off by the Marsi and Peligni[d]. Three years afterwards Leo VIII. dying, was succeeded by Stephen IX. a German, who enjoyed the papal dignity little more than three years; for Alberic being offended at his promotion, as being a foreigner, attacked and maimed him in a miserable manner; after which assault, he never appeared in public, and is supposed to have died of grief[e]. Soon after the promotion of Stephen, the two brothers Berengarius and Anscarius, notwithstanding the favours conferred upon them by Hugh, entered into a conspiracy against him, which being discovered, Hugh, by means of one Sarlio, apprehended Anscarius, and causing him to be put to death, conferred the dukedom of Spoleto upon Sarlio. Berengarius, alarmed at the fate of his brother, immediately fled to Herman, duke of Suabia, who conducted him to Otho, king of Germany, afterwards surnamed the Great. Hugh being informed of his retreat, sent an embassy to Otho, desiring the traitor might be delivered up; but his request was denied by the king of Germany. The conspiracy being quelled by the death of Anscarius, and the flight of Berengarius, Hugh resolved to attack the Saracens, who were fortified near the Alps. Sending an embassy to the emperor at Constantinople, he procured from him the assistance of some ships, and artificial or Greek fire, which had the property of burning under water. Having made these preparations, the following year he attacked Fraxinetum by sea and land, and burning the ships of the Saracens by means of the artificial fire, he forced them to abandon the place, and retire to the mountain Maurus. Hugh besieged them there for a considerable time; but hearing that Berengarius had raised some forces in Suabia and France, and designed to invade Italy, he imprudently dismissed his Greek auxiliaries, and concluded a peace with the Saracens, allowing them to reside

D. A. 937.

The Hungarians invade Campania.

A. D. 940.

Berengarius and Anscarius enter into a conspiracy against Hugh.

A. D. 941.

Hugh attacks the Saracens, and concluaes a peace with them.

[d] Leo Ost. lib. i. cap. 58.

[e] Baron. in Vita Stephani.

in

in the Alps between Suabia and Italy, on condition that they opposed Berengarius, in case he attempted to pass into Lombardy. The Saracens, being thus left in possession of several places in the Alps, robbed and murdered the pilgrims, who were passing that way in their journey to Rome [f].

A. D. 944. Three years after the conclusion of this peace with the Saracens, Romanus, the emperor of Constantinople, hearing of the great reputation of Hugh, sent an embassy to him, demanding his daughter in marriage. Hugh declaring that he had no legitimate daughter, but had one Bertha, by a concubine, Bezola, she was accepted, and was sent the following year into Greece, attended by Sigefrid, bishop of Parma; and being married to Romanus, changed her name to Eudoxia [g]. In the mean time Berengarius, who was an exile in Suabia, hearing that the Italians were greatly disaffected to Hugh, upon account of his conferring so many favours upon the Burgundians, sent one Amadeus, his faithful attendant, into Italy, to sound the affections of the Italian nobles. Amadeus, putting on the habit of a pilgrim, joined those who were travelling to Rome on account of devotion; and having entered Italy, had secret conferences with many of the nobles who were disaffected to Hugh, forming together with them a plan for procuring the kingdom to Berengarius. Hugh having information that Berengarius had sent an emissary in disguise into Italy, ordered strict search to be made after him; but Amadeus, by frequently changing his habit, and sometimes appearing in one colour, and sometimes in another, eluded the enquiries of the king's officers, and even had the confidence to appear at his palace. Having satisfied himself in his enquiries, he returned by bye-paths over the Alps, the passes of which were guarded by order of the king; and informing Berengarius that the nobles of Italy were ready to take arms in his favour, as soon as he appeared in that kingdom, he accordingly left Suabia, and, with a few attendants, entered Italy by the valley of Venusta or Winsgau. Marching to the castle of Fornicarium, then under the command of Adelard, suffragan or clerk to Manasses, bishop of Trent, Verona, and Mantua, Berengarius brought them both over to his interests, and obtained the possession of the castle, by promising the archbishoprick of Milan to Manasses, and the bishoprick of Como to Adelard. The arrival of Be-

Romanus emperor of Constantinople, contracts an alliance with Hugh.

Berengarius sends Amadeus into Italy.

[f] Flodoardus, anno 921. [g] Luitprand, lib. v. cap. 5 & 9.

rengarius

rengarius was no sooner known than many of the nobles repaired to his camp, the chief of whom was Millo, count of the palace, provoked by some injuries he had received from Hugh; and Vido bishop of Modena, enticed by the promise of the rich abbey of Nonantula, not only left Hugh, but brought a great body of men with him to the camp of Berengarius. Hugh, hearing of the revolt of these two nobles, immediately assembled an army, and marched to Vincola, to attack the camp of his rival; but the Italians continually flocking in to Berengarius, he found himself too weak to attempt any thing by force. While these transactions happened in Lombardy, the two brothers Landulphus and Athenulphus, princes of Capua, had seized upon the monastery of Cassino, and expelled the monks; but complaint being made to the pope, he ordered the princes to resign what they had usurped, and the monks again to take possession [h].

A. D. 947.

He arrives at Milan, and assumes the government.

In the mean time Berengarius being sent for by the archbishop, left Verona, and arriving at Milan, there acted as king. Hugh being informed of this circumstance, returned in despair to Pavia; and finding himself daily deserted, so that there was no hope of keeping possession of the crown, he sent his son Lotharius to Berengarius, and the Italian nobles at Milan, to endeavour to excite their compassion, chusing a day appointed by Berengarius for giving away a great many preferments. Lotharius accordingly went and threw himself at their feet before the altar in the church of St. Ambrose, intreating that they would not reject him as they had done his father. The Italians were so moved with his distress, that they took him into their protection; and Hugh preparing to quit Italy, they sent messengers to him, desiring him still to continue in the kingdom [i]. But Luitprand affirms [k], that this was all done deceitfully, by the advice of Berengarius, who wanted to retain Hugh, that he might get possession of his treasures, which he heard he intended to carry into Burgundy, to raise forces in order to recover Italy. Thus a kind of accommodation being concluded, the title of king continued with Hugh and Lotharius, but all power of government was lodged in the hands of Berengarius, who acted in the beginning of his reign with an absolute authority, taking the bishoprick of Brescia from Joseph, a man of great sanctity, and substituting

The title of king continues with Hugh and Lotharius, but Berengarius retains the power.

[h] Leo Ost. lib. i. cap. 64.
[i] Signon. lib. vi. p. 161.
[k] Luitprand, lib. v. cap. 13.

one

one Anthony, without any consent of the bishops. He likewise conferred the bishoprick of Como, not on Adelard, as he had promised, but on one Valdo. He gave that of Reggio to Adelard, and threatened to deprive the bishops of Placenza and Pavia, unless they gratified him with a large sum of money. Upon the death of the archbishop of Milan, he also appointed Manasses his successor, though the clergy had chosen Aldemar, the cardinal of their church, which dispute occasioned a great sedition at Milan, so that neither of the two competitors were consecrated.

Hugh retires into Burgundy, where he becomes a monk.

Hugh, dissatisfied with the administration of Berengarius, and finding himself without any authority, took an opportunity of retiring with his treasures into Burgundy, where he built a very magnificent monastery, at his own expence, and appropriating to it all his wealth, he became a monk himself, and died soon after. The emperor Constantine being informed of the death of Hugh, sent an embassy to Berengarius, recommending to him the protection of Lotharius [l]. In return, Berengarius sent the historian Luitprand ambassador to Constantinople, who gives a long and particular description of his own embassy; but Berengarius, instead of acting as a faithful administrator for Lotharius, is said to have poisoned him at an entertainment [m].

A. D. 949.

Henry duke of Bavaria invades Italy. The Hungarians follow his example.

After the departure of Hugh, Henry duke of Bavaria having defeated the Hungarians, led his army into Italy, took and plundered Aquileia, and having ravaged the country on the Tezino, returned loaded with booty into Germany [n]. Taxis or Toxis, king of Hungary, hearing of Henry's successful expedition into Italy, raised an army in the course of the following year, and made an irruption into Lombardy. Berengarius not being able to oppose him, consented to pay him a large sum of money, on condition that he restrained his army from ravaging, and evacuated Italy; but in raising the money Berengarius is said to have been more grievous than the Barbarians, for he obliged every individual, without distinction of age or sex, to pay so much a-head, not excepting even the poor; he likewise robbed the churches, and by these means raised an immense sum, ten modii or bushels of which he gave to the Hungarians, but kept the much greater part to himself. Lotharius being dead, Berengarius caused him-

[l] Luitprand, lib. i. cap. 6. [m] Flodoard. anno 950. [n] Sigon, lib. vi. p. 162.

self

self to be crowned at Verona, and associated his eldest son Adelbert with him in the government; the year after, at Olonna, he renewed the alliance between the Venetians and Italians, and settled the limits of their territories. Not contented with the title of king, Berengarius desired likewise to be in possession of Pavia, which was kept by Adelaide, the widow of Lotharius. In order to obtain his purpose, he proposed a marriage betwixt her and his son Adelbert; but the alliance being rejected, he was highly offended, and marched with an army against Pavia, which he reduced; then taking the queen prisoner, he shut her up in the castle of Garda, near the lake of that name, being afraid lest she should have recourse to some foreign assistance. Berengarius had not long fixed his residence at Pavia, when Adelaide, by the assistance of Martin her confessor, made her escape from her prison. In the night-time she went into a little boat with him and one female attendant, and crossing the lake, concealed herself in a wood, where she continued for some days; but being obliged to remove for want of food, she went and asked the protection of Adelard, bishop of Reggio, who recommended her for greater safety to his uncle Atho, the owner of a strong castle near Canoza.

A. D. 950.

Berengarius takes possession of Pavia, and imprisons Adelaide.

She escapes to Canoza, where she is besieged by Berengarius.

Berengarius was no sooner informed of the place of her retreat than he sent a message to Atho, desiring him to deliver her up; but his request being refused, he marched directly with an army, and besieged Canoza. Atho finding himself unable by his own strength to sustain the siege, sent a private messenger, with the consent of Adelaide, to Otho, king of Germany, intreating him to come to his assistance; apprising him, that if he acted with expedition, he might easily expel the usurper Berengarius, and, by marrying Adelaide, obtain the kingdom of Italy. The pope likewise, who had been offended at Berengarius for plundering the churches, sent a letter to Otho, inviting him into Italy[o]. Otho willingly accepted of the terms offered him by Adelaide, and promised speedy assistance: sending his son Ludolphus with some forces before him, he marched soon after in person, with a great army, into Italy. When he arrived at Verona, he sent an officer with a letter to Canoza, to inform Adelaide that he had passed the Alps, and was marching to her relief. All access to the castle being cut off by the enemies guards, the officer tied the letter, with a ring, which he had received

She solicits the assistance of Otho, king of Germany.

A. D. 951.

Otho marches into Italy, and raising the siege of Canoza, marries Adelaide.

[o] Script. Anonym. apud Baron. hoc anno.

ceived from Otho, to an arrow, and shot it into the place. The besieged, upon reading the letter, gave public demonstrations of joy; which being observed by Berengarius, he concluded that the army of Otho was not at a great distance. Not thinking proper to venture an engagement, he immediately raised the siege, and retired with his sons Adelbert and Vido, to provide for the security of the places of strength in his kingdom, being resolved to oppose the invader to the utmost of his power [p]. Otho, upon his arrival at Canoza, immediately celebrated his marriage with Adelaide, and soon after marched against Pavia, which he reduced by October, and entered the place in triumph with his queen. There he celebrated his Christmas; and returning in the beginning of the spring to Germany with Adelaide, left his son Conrad, duke of Lorrain, to carry on the war against Berengarius. Conrad began the campaign with great vigour, and soon obliged Berengarius to lay down his arms; he advised him to go with his son Adelbert into Germany, and submit to Otho, and trust to his generosity for the terms of reconciliation. Berengarius was received in Germany with great respect by the nobles of that kingdom, and had an audience of Otho, who deprived him only of the marquisate of Verona, and that of Friuli, which he gave to his brother Henry, duke of Bavaria; the rest of his kingdom he restored to him, on condition of his paying homage for it to the kings of Germany.

Berengarius goes to Germany, and is restored to his kingdom.

A D. 936. Berengarius having thus made his peace with Otho, returned to Italy; but soon after, hearing that Otho was engaged in opposing a rebellion, headed by his son Ludolphus, and his son-in-law Conrad, he likewise revolted, and again began hostilities in Italy. In revenge for the assistance Atho had given to Adelaide, he marched with an army against Canoza, and from thence to Ravenna and the exarchate, harrassing the pope, the bishops, and nobles of Italy, in a most grievous manner, and leaving every where marks of his tyranny and avarice. In the mean time, Aldemar, the rival of Manasses in the archbishoprick of Milan, dying, the clergy and people immediately chose Valpertus, who, together with the pope, wrote to Otho, complaining of the tyranny of Berengarius, and shewing, that, if he was not opposed, he would soon make himself master of all Italy. Otho being then deeply engaged in the affairs of Germany, ordered his son

Italy greatly harrassed by Berengarius.

[p] Sigon. lib. vi. p. 163. Leo Ost. lib. i. cap. ult.

Ludolphus

Ludolphus to march with an army against Berengarius. In the mean time, pope Agapetus dying, Octavianus, the son of Alberic, who, though a clergyman, two years before, had succeeded his father in the government of Rome, now procured himself to be elected pope, and took the name of John XII. being then only eighteen years of age. Ludolphus arriving in Italy, defeated Berengarius in several engagements, and at last forced him into an island in the lake Novara; but the following year, while he was earnest in prosecuting the war, he was cut off by a sudden death, not without suspicion of poison, administered to him by one of his domestics that had been gained by Berengarius [q]. His body was carried into Germany, and buried at Metz. Berengarius being now freed from his adversary, and hearing that Otho was engaged in a war with the Sclavi, again took the field with an army, and renewed his former violences, ravaging with great barbarity the territories of those who had abandoned him. He was likewise engaged in a war with the new pope, on account of the dukedom of Spoleto, each of them claiming that dukedom, which had been lately in the possession of Sarlio. John having got a great many bishops and others in the dukedom to favour his pretensions, Berengarius marched thither with an army, and harrassed those of the opposite party; but in the following year he left his army, and returned to Pavia, where he renewed their ancient privileges to the Genoese, that republic asserting the charter to be still extant in their possession.

Otho sends his son Ludolphus into Italy, who defeats Berengarius.

Ludolphus dies, and Berengarius continues to oppress his subjects.

The Italians at last driven to despair by the tyranny of Berengarius, sent repeated embassies to Otho, intreating him to come to their relief. Valpertus, archbishop of Milan, went in person to Otho [r], as did several other nobles: the pope sent a cardinal, and one of his principal officers of his court to Germany, supplicating Otho to come and deliver the church from its oppressor, and promising to give him the imperial crown, provided he would swear to consult the Roman church, and restore all that had been usurped by Berengarius. Otho very readily consented to the oath; but before he set out for Italy, in the beginning of the year, he assembled a diet at Worms, in which his son Otho, then only six years of age, was declared king of Germany, and trusted to the guardianship of William, archbishop of Metz, his half-brother. The diet being dismissed, young Otho was crowned at Aix la

A. D. 960.

The Italians again solicit the assistance of Otho;

who marches into Italy;

[q] Sigon. lib. vi. p. 163. [r] Luitprand, lib. vi. cap. 6.

Chapelle,

Chapelle, on Witsunday following; and his father having settled the affairs of Germany, marched with a formidable army through the valley of Trent into Italy, accompanied by his wife Adelaide, and attended by several bishops. Adelbert prepared to oppose the Germans, with an army amounting to sixty thousand men; but the counts and nobles making it a condition of their service that Berengarius should for ever resign the kingdom in favour of Adelbert, their proposal was rejected; upon which the whole army immediately separated [s], and many of the bishops and nobles going to meet Otho, he marched, without opposition, to Pavia, which Berengarius had abandoned, after setting fire to the palace [t]. From thence he advanced to Milan, where the bishops and nobles of Lombardy being assembled, the archbishop, with the unanimous consent of all present, deposed Berengarius and Adelbert, and conferring the kingdom on Otho, crowned him with the iron crown, in the church of St. Ambrose. In the mean time, Berengarius, his wife, and his two sons, abandoned the country to Otho, and retired separately into the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, which they fortified with strong garrisons, in expectation of a revolution in their favour.

and is crowned king.

A. D. 962. Otho, immediately after the ceremony of his coronation, returned to Pavia, where he kept his Christmas, and in the month of February marched with his army to Rome, to receive the imperial crown from the pope, according to his promise. The Romans went out to meet him, and received him into their city with the utmost demonstrations of joy. Otho having kissed the pope's feet, who waited for him on the steps of the Vatican, he was conducted into the church, and solemnly crowned emperor by John, amidst the loud acclamations of the people; after which ceremony, both of them went to the altar of St. Peter, and bound themselves by a solemn oath, John promising always to be faithful to the emperor, and to give no assistance to Berengarius or Adelbert his enemies; and Otho engaging to consult the welfare of the church, and to restore to it all its patrimony granted by former emperors [u]. Otho, besides, bestowed very rich presents upon the church of St. Peter [w]. He ordained, that the election of popes should be regulated according to the canons; and that the elected pope should not be consecrated till he

He marches to Rome, and is crowned emperor.

[s] Ex Hist. Longobard. Duc. ap. Baron. [t] Sigon. ubi supra. [u] Regino & Flodoard. hoc anno. Sigon. lib. vi. p. 167. Ann. Baron. hoc anno. [w] Luitprand, lib. vi. cap. 6.

had

had publicly promised, in presence of the emperor's commissaries, to observe every thing formerly specified by pope Leo; that these commissaries should constantly reside at Rome, and every year make an exact report how justice was administered by the judges; and in case of any complaints, the commissaries should lay them before the pope; but if he neglected to remedy them, the Imperial commissaries might then determine what they thought proper [x]: which regulation shews, that the emperor still reserved to himself the sovereignty and jurisdiction in the last instance over all the territories granted to the holy see. Otho having thus got possession of Italy, that kingdom continued for upwards of three hundred years to be reckoned a part of the German empire.

He returns to Pavia, and afterwards marches against Berengarius.

The emperor having confirmed the grant of his predecessors to the holy see, and regulated what related to the election of the popes, returned to Pavia, and after Easter marched against Berengarius and those of his party, who were still in possession of some places of strength. He began with the siege of the island in the Lago Maggiore, whither Villa, the wife of Berengarius, had retired: in two months he made himself master of the place, and gave liberty to Villa to go to her husband, and restored the island to the church of Novara [y]. In the mean time, John XII. finding that Otho was not contented with the mere title of emperor, but claimed likewise the sovereign authority in Rome, began to repent of his calling him into Italy, and, disregarding his oath, made a secret treaty with Adelbert, and promised to assist him in expelling the Germans. Otho, who was then at Pavia, being informed of this alliance, sent some of his faithful attendants to Rome, to enquire into the truth of the report, and the behaviour of John. Upon their return they confirmed the news, and likewise described the scandalous life of the pope. John, in order to throw the blame upon the emperor, immediately sent two legates to his camp, accusing him of having caused the people of Umbria to take the oath of allegiance to himself, and not to the holy see; but Otho declared that he desired nothing more than to fulfil his promise, and sent two ambassadors to the pope to clear him by their oath, which, if John refused, he ordered the soldiers that attended the ambassadors to justify him by single combat; at the same time he told the legates, that

A. D. 963.

The pope makes a secret treaty with Adelbert, to expel the Germans;

[x] Exemplar Diplom. Othon. apud Baron. anno.

[y] Baronius hoc

and solicits the Hungarians to invade Germany.

he had certain information that John had solicited the Hungarians to invade Germany[z]. The ambassadors of the emperor were received with very little respect by the pope, who refused to accept of the justification which they offered, and, after eight days, dismissed them, sending along with them two other legates, with the design of amusing the emperor. In the mean time, Adelbert, having arrived at Civita Vecchia, repaired to Rome, where he was honourably received by the pope, who was earnest with the Romans to revolt. During these transactions, Otho had embarked his army on the Po, and sailed to Ravenna, which he quickly reduced; from thence he marched into the dukedom of Spoleto, and besieged St. Leo or Montfeltre, then held by Berengarius and Villa with a strong garrison.

Otho marches to Rome, and assembles a council.

The siege proceeding very slowly, he left part of his army to block up the place, and, in the middle of September, marched with the rest to Rome, being invited by the nobles to come to their assistance, they having opposed the proceedings of the pope and Adelbert, and seized upon the castle of St. Paul. John, alarmed at the emperor's march to Rome, immediately left the city, and taking with him the treasure of St. Peter, retired to some distance. In the mean time, Otho being received by the clergy and people of Rome with great respect, appointed a council of the bishops to be held in the beginning of November, to regulate the affairs of the church On the day appointed for the council the bishops assembled, and he himself presided, with the archbishops of Aquileia, Milan, and Ravenna. Otho began with complaining that the pope, who ought to have been the chief in their deliberations, was not present, and enquired of the bishops the cause of his absence. The council unanimously replied, that the consciousness of his crimes had intimidated him from appearing. Otho required them to be more particular; upon which they accused him of filling the palace with lewd women, and having an intrigue with one Stephania, his father's concubine; of ordaining a bishop in a stable; of making a child of ten years of age bishop of Tuder; of castrating a cardinal, and afterwards putting him to death; of saying mass without communicating; of drinking the devil's health; and neglecting to use the sign of the cross. John refusing to appear to defend himself, the council proceeded to depose him, and elected Leo, the

[z] Luitprand, lib. vi. cap. 6.

chief

chief secretary, in his place, who, though a layman [a], was approved of by the emperor, and forthwith consecrated, taking the name of Leo VIII. Leo, in compliment to the emperor, by whose means he had obtained the papal dignity, granted a bull, by which it was ordained, that Otho and his successors should have a right of appointing the popes, and investing archbishops and bishops; and that none should dare to consecrate a bishop without the leave of the emperor [b]. The council being dismissed, Otho sent back the greatest part of his troops to assist at the siege, and, continuing at Rome, celebrated his Christmas with Leo.

John XII. is deposed, and Leo VIII. chosen.

John XII. was no sooner informed that Otho had dismissed the greatest part of his troops than he sent his emissaries to Rome, exciting the Romans to revolt, and promising to divide among them all the treasures he was possessed of, if they would surprise and cut off Otho. The Romans being easily excited by the promises of John, took arms on the 2d of January, and marched to surprise Otho, who was encamped on the other side the Tiber; but the Germans taking the alarm before the Romans had passed the river, attacked them at the bridge, repulsed them with considerable loss, and with great difficulty were restrained by Otho from committing great slaughter [c]. Otho pardoned the Romans, on condition of their renewing their allegiance, and giving a hundred of their nobles as hostages. A few days after this pacification, the emperor received the news that Montfeltre was taken, and that Berengarius had surrendered at discretion: Otho sent him prisoner to Bamberg in Franconia, where he died two years afterwards; his wife Villa, who had accompanied him, retiring, after his decease, into a monastery. Garda and Comacina likewise surrendering to the Germans, there remained only Spoleto and Camerino, which Adelbert had strengthened with good garrisons.

A. D 964.

The Romans revolt, but are defeated by Otho.

Berengarius sent prisoner into Germany.

Otho resolving to go in person against these two places, at the intreaty of Leo, restored the Roman hostages, and in a few days left Rome, and marched against Camerino. Soon after the departure of the emperor, John, by the intrigues of his mistresses, found means to enter Rome, where his party immediately becoming prevalent, he called an assembly of the bishops, in which he deposed Leo, and annulled all his degrees. He likewise ordered a car-

John XII. returns to Rome.

[a] Sigebert apud Grat. Dis. lxxix. cap. 3. & 4. [b] Sigon. lib. vii. p. 170. [c] Luitprand, lib. vi. cap. 11.

dinal, named John, to be puniſhed with the loſs of his right hand, and his ſecretary Azo to loſe his noſe, his tongue, and two of his fingers. John was ſoon prevented by death from continuing theſe cruelties; for, about the middle of May, being ſurpriſed in bed with a Roman lady, he received a blow upon the head, of which he died eight days after. The authors of thoſe times ſay, that it was the devil that ſtruck him; but they do not mention whether he appeared in the ſhape of the huſband or not. The Romans, upon the death of John, did not recall Leo, who had fled to the emperor's camp, but elected Benedict, a cardinal-deacon, whom they immediately conſecrated, without acquainting Otho. Upon the news of John's getting poſſeſſion of Rome, Otho had determined to march againſt that city after he had reduced Camerino; but hearing that the Romans had elected Benedict, he quickly raiſed the ſiege, and led his army thither. The Romans, excited by Benedict, ſhut their gates againſt the emperor; but their city being inveſted, they were very ſoon obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion for want of proviſions. Otho, upon entering the city, ſtrictly prohibited his ſoldiers from committing any violence, and, having reſtored Leo to his dignity, adviſed him to call a council in order to depoſe Benedict. The council of German, Italian, and Sicilian biſhops being aſſembled, Benedict was introduced, and voluntarily ſtripping himſelf of his pontifical ornaments, aſked pardon of the emperor and Leo, who deprived him of the title of preſbyter, but leaving him that of deacon, ordered him into baniſhment at Hamburgh. Tranquility being eſtabliſhed at Rome, Otho was preparing to return to the ſiege of Camerino, when he was informed that Adelbert had abandoned Italy and fled to Corſica. Upon this information he ſettled the affairs of Italy, and ſet out on his return to Germany: paſſing the reſt of the ſummer in Tuſcany, in autumn he marched to Pavia, where he kept his Chriſtmas, and ſoon after returned into Germany.

He dies, and the Romans elect Benedict in his place.

Otho returns to Rome, and reſtores Leo.

Otho returns to Germany.

A. D. 965. Otho's back was no ſooner turned than the Italians, according to their uſual fickleneſs, revolted from their allegiance, recalled Adelbert from Corſica, and, upon his return to Lombardy, aſſiſted him to the utmoſt of their power in recovering his former dignity. Otho being informed of this rebellion, immediately ſent duke Burchard, with an army, into Italy, giving him orders to engage Adelbert with the firſt opportunity. Burchard, according to his orders, attacked Adelbert near the Po, and, after

The Italians revolt, and ſend for Adelbert.

after an obstinate engagement, obliged him to retire with considerable loss, his brother Vido having fallen in the action. In the mean time pope Leo dying, the Romans sent ambassadors to Otho, to consult him about a successor. Being satisfied with their submission, he gave them liberty of chusing whom they thought proper; and sent the bishops of Spire and Cremona as his commissaries to Rome, to be present at the election and consecration of the new pope [d]. Soon after the arrival of the two bishops, the Romans elected the bishop of Nani, who took the name of John XIII. But he had not long enjoyed his new dignity when Rome was thrown into the utmost confusion; the prefect of the city, the consuls, and the tribunes of the people, whom they called decarchons, being greatly dissatisfied with the diminution of their power, resolved to renounce their allegiance to the emperor, and resume their former authority: John declaring firmly for the emperor, and opposing their proceedings, they seized him and threw him into prison, and finding they could not prevail with him to approve their measures, they banished him the city, and sent for one Rofred, a rich nobleman of Capua, to their assistance. John, upon his expulsion from Rome, retired to Capua, where he was received with great respect by the duke Pandulphus, who excited his brother to assassinate Rofred, then prefect of the city.

Leo dying, the Romans send to Otho to consult him about a successor.

A. D. 966.

The Romans still continuing in their rebellion, notwithstanding the death of Rofred, Otho resolved to pass into Italy. Having concluded the diet at Worms, he then marched over the Alps with a formidable army, and began with punishing the rebels of Lombardy, who had invited Adelbert from Corsica. He banished Sigulfus bishop of Placenza, and several counts, who were found guilty, into Franconia and Saxony; and giving the investiture of Montferrat to Aleran, a nobleman who had continued faithful to him, he marched with his army towards Rome. The Romans, upon the news of Otho's passing the Alps, being afraid of his resentment, had immediately recalled the pope from Capua, and restored him to his dignity, hoping that he would prevail with the emperor to pardon their rebellion [e]. But Otho thinking it proper to punish their seditious dispostion by an example of severity, upon his arrival at Rome, banished the consuls into Germany, and ordered the tribunes to be hanged. The body of Rofred was dug out of the grave, and divided into pieces,

Otho returns to Italy, and punishes the rebels of Lombardy.

A. D 967.

He marches to Rome.

[d] Appendix ad Reginon. [e] Idem ibid.

which were dispersed into different parts of the country. The prefect who had succeeded Rofred, was dressed in an ignominious habit, set upon an ass with his face toward the tail, and in that manner being led through the streets of Rome, was scourged by the hangman, and afterwards imprisoned [f]. Otho having punished the rebels, made several new laws for the government of the city. The Venetians having sent an embassy to him, he renewed the former privileges granted to that republic, and, at the desire of the ambassadors, appointed the church of Grada to be metropolitan of Venice. Having settled the affairs that regarded the city, he left Rome, and took the pope along with him to Ravenna, where, after Easter, he called an assembly of the states, and renewed the grant of Pepin and Charlemagne in favour of the holy see. He likewise created Sigebert or Albert, the son of Atho, count of Canoza, marquis of Este, whose descendents continued in the possession of that dignity for six hundred years. Otho, while at Ravenna, sent an ambassador to Nicephorus, emperor of Constantinople, demanding his step-daughter Theophania in marriage for his son Otho, resolving, if he met with a denial, to make himself master of Calabria and Apulia; several nobles in these provinces having already renounced their allegiance to the Greek emperor, and done homage to him. Having settled the affairs of Romaniola, he dismissed the pope, and sent for his son Otho from Germany. He went as far as Verona to meet him, and returned with him to Rome, where, on Christmas-day, he was crowned emperor by the pope, being then only thirteen years of age.

He goes with the pope to Ravenna,

and his son Otho is crowned emperor.

A. D. 968. After this ceremony Otho sent Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, to Nicephorus, again to demand Theophania in marriage; but that emperor, being highly offended that Otho and his son had obtained the title of emperor, and received the homage of the Beneventans, treated the ambassador with great disrespect, threw him into prison, and after detaining him several months, dismissed him without any satisfaction as to his embassy (D). Nicephorus was not contented with treating Otho's ambassador with indig-

He sends an ambassador to the emperor of Constantinople, demanding Theophania for his son.

[f] Append. ad Anastas. Sigon. lib. vii. p. 172.

(D) There is a long and curious account of this embassy written by Luitprand himself, and published in the Annals of Baronius for this year, and in the collections of Muratori, volume xi.

nity,

nity, but likewise added perfidy to his insults; for he pretended to be reconciled to Otho, and sent an embassy to him at Rome, declaring that he had agreed to the marriage, and desired him to receive Theophania in Calabria. Otho, trusting to the assurances of the emperor, made preparations for the nuptials at Rome, and sent a considerable body of nobility to receive the princess; but instead of meeting with Theophania, they were attacked by the Greek soldiers, and almost all killed or carried prisoners to Constantinople [g]. Enraged at this perfidy Otho immediately made preparations for war, and soon after sent an army to Calabria and Apulia, under the command of Gunther and Sigifred. Historians make very little mention of this expedition: Sigonius relates, that these two generals marched first to Capua, from thence they proceeded to Taranta and Metapontum, now Torre di Mare, and being assisted by Pandulph, duke of Capua, attacked the Saracens, whom they expelled from Italy, enriching themselves with the spoil. The Greeks at first defeated the Germans in several small engagements; but their success rendering them unwary, they were at last drawn into an ambush, and almost all cut to pieces. Those who were taken prisoners had their noses cut off, and in that manner were sent to Constantinople. The Constantinopolitans in the mean time, exasperated against Nicephorus, slew him, by means of one John Zimisces, whom they afterwards declared emperor. Mean while Otho was engaged in settling the affairs of Italy, and conferring honours on those who had served him faithfully. He gave the city of Ferrara to Tedald, brother of the marquis of Este; and created one Scrosa, a man of low extraction, and a butcher, duke of Milan [h]. He likewise appointed Arnolphus, archbishop of Milan, in the room of Valpert deceased, and sent him ambassador to John, emperor of Constantinople, demanding Theophania in marriage for his son.

A. D. 969.

Otho sends an army into Calabria against the Greeks.

The Greeks are defeated.

Nicephorus is slain by John Zimisces, who is declared emperor.

John, not thinking himself secure in the possession of his throne, willingly embraced the friendship of Otho, and restoring the prisoners that had been surprised by the treachery of Nicephorus, soon after sent the princess Theophania into Italy, with a numerous retinue, who was received by Otho with great magnificence. The marriage was celebrated at Rome on the 8th of April, with

He concludes an alliance with Otho, and sends Theophania into Italy, who is married to Otho.

[g] Willichind apud Meibom. Sigon. ubi supra. [h] Sigon. lib. vii. p. 174.

great pomp, and Theophania afterwards was crowned empress. Some authors pretend, that the Greeks at this time renounced their right to Calabria and Apulia; but Giannone, an Italian author of great reputation, seems to have proved, that no such renunciation was made. After the celebration of this marriage, Otho dismissed his auxiliary troops, and marched with his army to Pavia, with design of extirpating the Saracens from the Alps; but being informed of the death of several nobles in Germany, he laid aside that expedition, and directed his route to Saxony. He survived his return to Germany only two years, and died of an apoplexy at Meinleben, on the 7th of May (E).

A. D. 973.

The emperor returns to Germany, where he dies.

(E) Italy was divided at this time into the following provinces, Apulia, Calabria, the dukedom of Benevento, Campania, Terra Romana, the dukedom of Spoleto, Tuscany, Romagna, Lombardy, and the marquisates of Ancona, Verona, Trevisо, Friuli, and Genoa; of which, Apulia and Calabria were still claimed by the Greek emperor; all the rest were either immediately subject to, or held of the kings of Italy. Of these last, Otho conferred Benevento, which included the ancient Samnium, on the duke of that name; he gave Campania with Lucania, to the dukes of Capua, Naples, and Salerno. Rome with its territory, Ravenna with the exarchate, the dukedom of Spoleto with Tuscany, and the marquisate of Ancona, he granted to the pope; and retained the rest of Italy under the form of a kingdom. He left some of the cities free, but all tributary; and appointed several hereditary marquisses and counts, reserving to himself the sovereign jurisdiction in their territories. The liberty of the cities consisted in a freedom to chuse their own magistrates, to be judged by their own laws, and dispose of their own revenues, on condition that they took the oath of allegiance to the king, and paid the customary tribute. The cities that were not free, were governed by the commissaries or lieutenants of the emperor; but the free cities were governed by two or more consuls, afterwards called *potestates*, chosen annually, who took the oath of allegiance to the emperor, before the bishop of the city, or the emperor's commissary. The tribute exacted was called *foderum*, *parata*, & *mansionaticum*. By the foderum was meant a certain quantity of corn, which the cities were obliged to furnish to the king when marching with an army, or making a progress through the country; the value of this was frequently paid in money. By the parata was understood the expence laid out in keeping the public roads and bridges in repair; and the mansionaticum included those expences which were required for lodging the troops, or accommodating them in

The death of Otho was no ſooner known in Italy than that kingdom fell into the greateſt confuſion, in conſequence of civil broils among the nobles and ſtates, many of the cities rejecting the authority of the emperor, and chuſing conſuls to themſelves, while the dominion of others was uſurped by the nobles, who ſecured their power by building citadels. Rome eſpecially was harraſſed with tumults, occaſioned chiefly by the ambition of a citizen named Cincius, under pretence of reſtoring the ancient republic. As the pope continued firm in the intereſts of the emperor, and could not be prevailed with to approve his proceedings; he ſeized him, by means of one Franco, a cardinal-deacon, and throwing him into priſon, ordered him to be ſtrangled. Upon his death, one Donus was choſen by a faction of the Romans; but he dying ſoon after, Cincius and his faction elected Franco the deacon, who took the name of Boniface VII. The faction of the counts of Tuſcany, alarmed at the power of Cincius, unanimouſly conſpired againſt him; and, after ſeveral ſtruggles, obliged him and Boniface to quit the city. They choſe likewiſe a grandſon of the former conſul Alberic, who aſſumed the name of Benedict VII. This new pontiff being approved of by the emperor, and ſupported by his friends, threw many of the oppoſite faction in chains, and in ſome meaſure appeaſed the tumults [i]. Boniface, before he left Rome, had ſtripped the Vatican of all its wealth, which he carried with him to Conſtantinople,

Italy falls into great confuſion upon his death.

[i] Baronius ad an. 975. Sigon. ubi ſupra.

in their camp. Under the pretence of this article, the inhabitants were ſometimes ſtripped of all that they poſſeſſed, except their oxen and ſeed for the land. Beſides regulating what regarded the cities, Otho diſtributed honours and poſſeſſions to thoſe who had ſerved him faithfully. The honours conſiſted in the titles of duke, marquis, count, captain, valvaſor, and valvaſin; the poſſeſſions were, beſides land, the duties ariſing from harbours, ferries, roads, fiſh-ponds, mills, ſalt-pits, the uſe of rivers, and all pertaining to them, and ſuch like. The dukes, marquiſſes, and counts, were thoſe who had received dukedoms, marquiſates, or counties from the king in fiefs. The captains had the command of a certain number of men by a grant from the king, duke, marquis or count. The valvaſors were ſubordinate to the captains, and the valvaſins to them (1).

(1) Sigon. de Regno Italiæ, p. 175.

and

and incited the emperors Basil and Constantine to declare war against Otho, affirming, that the cities of Italy sought only an opportunity of shaking off the German yoke. These disturbances were hardly quieted at Rome, when the inhabitants of Bologna began to reject the authority of Otho, and to fortify their city by building some castles; the Orvietans likewise refused to obey the emperor's officers, and chose consuls. At the same time the inhabitants of Milan were remarkable for their loyalty; for their archbishop being dead, to gratify the emperor Otho, they accepted of Godfrey the subdeacon, for whom they had an aversion.

A. D. 979. Italy continuing still harrassed by civil dissensions, the emperors Basil and Constantine at last resolved upon an expedition against that kingdom, which they the more readily undertook, as they knew Otho was engaged in a war with the French on account of Lorrain. Having concluded an alliance with the Saracens, whom they had expelled from Crete, they took a great body of their troops into their pay, and, in conjunction with them, landed in Italy. There, upon their first arrival, taking and plundering Bari and Macera, they soon made themselves masters of all Apulia and Calabria. Otho II. who had hitherto been hindered from coming into Italy, at first by the rebellion raised by his cousin Henry, duke of Bavaria, who pretended to the empire, and lately by the war with the French, now hearing of the invasion of the Greeks, concluded a peace with the French, and in the following year passed the Alps with a formidable army, accompanied by the empress Theophania, and many nobles, bishops, and abbots [k]. He arrived at Placenza about the middle of August, and, in the field called Roncalia, held an assembly of the nobles and deputies of the cities of Italy (F); where, after punishing the authors of the late tumults,

The Greeks and Saracens invade Italy.

A. D. 980.

Otho II. concludes a peace with the French and enters Italy with an army.

[k] Lambert & Sigebert, in Chron. hoc anno.

(F) Sigonius gives the following account of the manner in which the emperors marched to Rome (1). When they proposed such a journey, messengers went before, who acquainted the cities of Italy, that the king was coming, and therefore renewed their oaths of allegiance, and made a demand of the foderum, and other services necessary upon that occasion. The emperor upon his entering Italy, went

(1) Sigon. p. 176.

directly

tumults, and determining ſome controverſies, he conferred new honours upon Tedald marquis of Mantua, and gave the caſtle of Vico Juſtino to one Lanfranc of Placenza, as a reward for their faithful ſervices. Having ſettled the affairs of Lombardy, he proceeded to Rome, where he was received by all parties with great appearance of joy.

A. D. 981.

After having celebrated his Chriſtmas, he reſolved to puniſh the authors of the late diſturbances in that city; but the method he took was much more cruel than ſerviceable to himſelf. He invited the nobles of Rome, and the deputies of the other cities then preſent, to a grand entertainment in the Vatican palace, and when the

Otho renders himſelf odious to the Italians.

directly to Milan: if he had not already received the crown of Italy, he entered the church of St. Ambroſe, and laying aſide his regal ornaments, he aſſiſted the archbiſhop as his ſubdeacon during the time of divine ſervice. After which the archbiſhop anointed him with the ſacred oil, and put on his head the ſacred crown, upon his ſwearing the uſual oath to defend the rights of Italy. At this time, all magiſtracies and dignities in the cities were vacant, and the king judged all controverſies by the archbiſhop of Cologn, who was chancellor of Italy. From Milan, the king marched to a plain called Roncallia near Placenza, where he encamped. The merchants and ſuttlers that attended the army, pitched their tents and booths near the camp in the manner of ſuburbs, if the camp was ſquare, but in the form of a rampart, if the camp was round. The camp itſelf was divided into diſtinct ſtreets, with the emperor's tent in the middle, in the form of a church, and round it were the tents of the nobles. The army being encamped, the king hung his ſhield upon the trunk of a tree, where all thoſe who held any poſſeſſions of the king as fiefs, were ſummoned by a herald to watch the ſhield. In like manner, all the nobles ſummoned by the valvaſors ſubject to them, and thoſe who did not appear on the day following, were deprived of their fiefs. A diet being then appointed, the king received the deputies of the cities, who came to congratulate him, and heard thoſe who had any controverſies, which he decided by the advice of perſons ſkilled in the laws; and likewiſe made new laws if there was occaſion. Upon diſmiſſing the diet, the king went, attended by the archbiſhop to Rome, to receive the imperial crown, the principal inhabitants of each city through which he was to paſs, meeting him on his journey, which, if they neglected to do, they were puniſhed by a fine, or the loſs of their privileges, or were reduced to their duty by arms.

gueſts

gueſts had placed themſelves at the table, he forbad them under pain of death to ſpeak or move, at what they ſhould hear or ſee: immediately the whole company was ſurrounded by armed men. Whilſt the gueſts ſat trembling in ſuſpence, the king with great ſerenity ordered the names of thoſe concerned in the late diſturbances to be read over, and the guilty perſons to be puniſhed with death in the midſt of the hall; after which execution, the king behaved with great complaiſance and chearfulneſs to the other gueſts during the whole entertainment[l]. This cruelty made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the Italians, who at that time diſſembled their reſentment, and joined their auxiliary troops to his army. Otho began the campaign againſt the Greeks and Saracens early in the ſpring, and marching to Naples and Benevento, increaſed his army by auxiliaries from thoſe cities. After receiving this reinforcement, he defeated the enemy in ſeveral engagements, and conquered the country as far as Taranto. But the following year the Greeks and Saracens having collected their forces, made more oppoſition, and the two armies being encamped in the neighbourhood of Baventello, a ſmall town on the ſea coaſt of Calabria, a battle was fought, which proved very fatal to Otho. During the engagement, the greateſt part of the Italian auxiliaries, remembering the emperor's former cruelty, left the field of battle; by whoſe deſertion, thoſe who remained were not only defeated, but almoſt entirely cut to pieces. Otho with great difficulty eſcaped from the field of battle. Being deſtitute of a retreat, he ſtripped himſelf of his imperial habit, and intreated to be received on board a Greek veſſel which was then on the coaſt. After he was on board, thinking himſelf diſcovered, he endeavoured to regain the land by ſwimming; but being retaken, he prevailed with the captain to ſet him at liberty, by promiſing him a large ſum for his ranſom. While Theophania, was preparing to pay the ranſom, Otho having been landed, and not ſtrictly guarded, took an opportunity of eſcaping to Roſſani, where the empreſs then was, with thoſe who had ſaved themſelves from the late defeat[m].

He defeats the Greeks and Saracens, and recovers Apulia.

The Greeks afterwards gains a complete victory over him.

The Greeks, inſtead of purſuing their conqueſt and marching directly to Rome, ſpent the reſt of the campaign in retaking the places which Otho had made him-

[l] Sigon. lib. vii. p. 180. [m] Sigebert hoc anno. Ditmar, Chron. lib. iii. Leo Oſten. lib. ii cap. 9.

ſelf

ſelf maſter of in Apulia and Calabria, ſo that the emperor had leiſure to aſſemble a ſecond army, compoſed of the remains of his former, and the garriſons of ſeveral towns. As ſoon as he found himſelf able for action, he marched againſt Benevento, which he took and plundered, as a puniſhment for the perfidy of their ſoldiers in the late engagement, they having been the firſt that deſerted. The ſpring approaching, he went into Lombardy to meet the reinforcements that were on their march from Germany. At Verona he held an aſſembly of the ſtates of Italy and Germany, in which his ſon Otho, then a boy of ten years of age, was declared emperor. From Verona, Otho returned to Rome, where he fell into a languiſhing ſtate of health, which was followed by a dyſentery, of which he died on the 7th of December. Among the regulations that he made in Italy, one is remarkable: finding that the Italians were very guilty of perjury, he ordered that no Italian ſhould be believed upon his oath; and that in any diſpute which could not be proved by other means than witneſſes, the parties ſhould have recourſe to ſingle combat.

A. D. 982.

Otho aſſembles a new army.

A. D. 983.

He goes to Verona, where his ſon is declared emperor; returns to Rome, and dies.

After the death of Otho, the tranquility of Italy was in ſome meaſure diſturbed by the return of Boniface from Conſtantinople, with the deſign of ſeizing upon the papal dignity. By diſtributing the treaſures which he had formerly taken from the Vatican, he ſoon gained a great party among the Romans, who ſeized upon the pope, and impriſoned him in the caſtle of St. Angelo, where he died of hunger; but Boniface ſurvived this ſecond murder but a ſhort time, for he died ſuddenly, in four months after his reſtoration. Upon the death of Boniface, John XV. ſucceeded to the papal dignity; but he was ſoon after obliged to leave Rome by the tyranny of Creſcentius Numentanus, who aſpired at the ſovereignty of the city, had aſſumed the title of conſul, and taken poſſeſſion of the caſtle of St. Angelo. The Romans being informed that John was very earneſtly ſoliciting the emperor to come into Italy, immediately altered their conduct, and ſent an honourable embaſſy to him, intreating him to return to the city[n]. Otho at this time being engroſſed by the affairs of Germany, ſent his mother Theophania into Italy, with ſome troops, commanded by Hugh, marquis of Brandenburgh. The preſence of the Germans quieted the diſturbances at Rome; but not long after their arrival,

A. D. 985.

Boniface returns from Conſtantinople, and occaſions new diſturbances at Rome.

Creſcentius expels the pope.

[n] Ann. Baron. anno 985.

the

A D. 989. the city of Milan was greatly harraſſed by a ſedition of the people, which introduced a new form of government. It was occaſioned by the following tranſaction: Bonicius the duke, upon the death of Godfrey the archbiſhop, obtained that dignity for his ſon Landulphus; but the people oppoſing his entering the palace, his father procured entrance by force, in which ſkirmiſh many people were killed, and amongſt the reſt one Tatius, a man of great wealth and power. In reſentment for the blood ſpilt in this commotion, Bonicius was privately ſtabbed in his bed. While Landulphus was propoſing to confer the government of the city upon his elder brother, the people aroſe and drove them both from the city, and renouncing the government of a duke, choſe conſuls, after the example of ſeveral other cities in Italy; in conſequence of which revolution, Milan was long afterwards harraſſed with the two oppoſite factions of nobles and people [a]. Soon after this commotion at Milan, Theophania left Hugh, marquis of Brandenburgh, governor of Florence, and returned to Germany, where ſhe died.

Great commotions in the city of Milan.

A D. 993. After her departure from Italy, Creſcentius began again to diſturb the tranquility of Rome, by repreſenting to the Romans, that it was diſgraceful for them to ſubmit to a foreign yoke, and that they ought now to recover their former liberty. By his great wealth and pretences of regard for their honour, his party ſoon became very powerful in Rome; upon which he propoſed to reſtore the ancient form of government, and expel the Germans. Otho being informed of theſe proceedings, by the nuncios of the pope, and his aſſiſtance being likewiſe implored by Landulphus, archbiſhop of Milan, who had fled to his court for protection, upon being entirely defeated by the other faction, he reſolved upon an expedition into Italy, to put a ſtop to the ambition of Creſcentius, and quell the commotions in that kingdom. Having entered Italy by the Trentine Alps, he marched directly for Milan, which he beſieged with vigour. The inhabitants at firſt made a ſtout reſiſtance; but ſoon finding themſelves too weak to oppoſe the Germans, they conſented to ſurrender and accept of Landulphus for their archbiſhop. Otho entering the city in a triumphant manner, was crowned by Landulphus king of Lombardy; after which ceremony, he marched with his army to Ravenna, where he kept the feaſt of Eaſter; and the archbiſhop being lately dead,

Creſcentius perſuades the Romans to revolt.

Otho reduces Milan, where he is crowned.

[a] Sigon. lib. vii. p. 182.

he

he conferred that archbishoprick upon Gerbert, who the year before had been forced by the pope to quit the bishoprick of Rheims, on account of his severe writings against the holy see [p]. While Otho continued at Ravenna, the deputies of the senate and nobles of Rome came and informed him of the death of the pope, and at the same time desired his orders about the election of a successor. Upon their demand, Otho appointed one Bruno, a Saxon, his own relation, and then only twenty-four years of age, who, after his election took the name of Gregory V [q].

Bruno is elected pope, and takes the name of Gregory V.

A. D. 996.

Otho then marched to Rome, where the new pope performed the ceremony of coronation of the emperor and empress Mary, who was daughter of Garcias Sancho, king of Arragon, Navarre, and Gascony. Upon his arrival at Rome, Otho caused Crescentius to be seized, and after consulting with some of the Roman nobles, had resolved to banish him Italy; but Gregory V. interceding in his behalf, he pardoned him, and continued him in his magistracy. Otho having re-established the tranquility of Italy, left Rome, and marched for Germany. In his return through Lombardy, he visited some of the principalities, and stopped a few days at Modena, where, according to several historians, the empress Mary endeavoured to draw the count of Modena into a criminal amour with her; but he refusing to hearken to her sollicitations, she in a rage accused him to the emperor, as one who attempted to violate her honour. Otho readily believing the accusation of his empress, immediately ordered the count to be put to death, but allowed him, before his execution, to speak to his wife. The count declared to her in the most solemn manner, that he was innocent of the crime of which he was accused, and entreated her to justify his innocence to the world; being then separated from her, he was conducted to the place of execution, and had his head struck off. The army encamping afterwards on the plain of Roncalia, the widow of the deceased count accused the emperor of having put her husband unjustly to death, and proved his innocence by carrying a red-hot iron in her hand without being burnt. Otho, surprised at the miracle acknowleged himself guilty; and the widow demanding that the empress should be punished, he ordered her to be burnt alive at Modena, and gave the injured widow four castles as a compensation for

Otho marches to Rome, and is crowned with the empress.

He returns to Germany, and orders the count of Modena to be put to death.

[p] Baron. an. 995 & 996. [q] Ditmar, lib. iv.

the

the wrongs she had received[r]. Some historians say, that the empress was only disgraced; and others, among whom is the learned Muratori, affirm, that the whole story is false.

The Romans revolt and expel the pope.

The Germans had scarce repassed the Alps, when Crescentius began again to disturb Rome, and assume a sovereign authority, by representing to the Romans that it was unworthy of them to submit to a foreign yoke, or to accept of a pope that had been thrust upon them against their inclination: he prevailed with them to revolt against Gregory, and renounce their allegiance to the emperor. The pope, unable to oppose the proceedings of Crescentius, left Rome and retired to Tuscany, and from thence into Lombardy[s]. Crescentius caused one Philagathus to be elected in his room, a Calabrian, of obscure birth, who in his youth had been a monk; but leaving that profession, had acquired great wealth at the court of Theophania, and intruded himself by force into the bishoprick of Placenza. Gregory being informed of this intrusion, went into Germany, to entreat the assistance of the emperor[t]; but before he left Pavia, he excommunicated Crescentius and the pretended pope. In the mean time the Romans, resolving to justify their proceedings, were very diligent in fortifying their city with new works. In
A. D. 998. the course of the following year, Otho, prevailed upon by the entreaty of Gregory, returned to Italy with an army, and besieged Rome, which being soon distressed for want of provisions, was obliged to surrender; Crescentius and the garrison retiring into the strong castle of St. Angelo, formerly called the Mole of Hadrian. Otho being master of the city, seized the antipope Philagathus, and ordered his hands and ears to be cut off, and his eyes to be put out, as a sacrilegious intruder[u]. After Easter, he ordered the castle of St. Angelo to be attacked, which he quickly reduced; Crescentius, according to Glaber, despairing of being able to make resistance, came out and submitted to the emperor, who refused to accept of his submission, and sent him back into the castle, which he soon after took by assault. But other authors assure us, that Crescentius could not be forced, and was drawn into the emperor's camp under a promise of security, where Otho, contrary to his oath, ordered him to be put to

Otho returns to Italy, and reduces Rome.

Crescentius is put to death, and Gregory restored.

[r] Sigon. ubi supra. [s] Annal. Sax. [t] Chron. Hildesh. [u] Glaber, lib. i. cap. 4.

death.

death[x]. Otho having re-eſtabliſhed Gregory V. marched againſt Tibur, or Tivoli, which had likewiſe revolted and ſlain their duke Mazolin. At the ſollicitation of St. Romuald, he pardoned the city, on condition that they delivered up the murderers of the duke, broke down part of their walls, and gave hoſtages for their future fidelity. After this expedition, Otho returned to Ravenna, from whence he went in the beginning of the year to Venice, in conſequence of a vow, and returning to Rome, he made a decree, that the emperor for the future ſhould be elected only by the Germans, and crowned by the pope, which decree was very readily confirmed by Gregory[y], who died in the beginning of the following year. Upon his death, Otho cauſed Gerbert, archbiſhop of Ravenna, to be elected his ſucceſſor, he having been his preceptor, and the moſt eminent in that age for his learning and ſkill in aſtronomy and philoſophy. Gerbert, upon his election to the papal dignity, took the name of Sylveſter II. and obtained from the emperor a renewal of the grants of Pepin and Charlemagne, in favour of the holy ſee[z].

A. D. 999.

Otho does penance at Rome;

Otho having ſettled the affairs of Italy, prepared to return to Germany; but before his departure, he is ſaid to have done penance for his perfidy, in putting Creſcentius to death, contrary to his oath; yet other authors ſay, that it was on account of his unjuſtly condemning the count of Modena. He went in penitence to the monaſtery of St. Benedict on Monte Caſſino, where he preſented two crowns of ſilver, and from thence went bare-footed to St. Michael, on Mount Garganus, now Monte di St. Angelo. He likewiſe ſhut himſelf up with Franco, biſhop of Worms, in a cell of the church of St. Clement, at Rome, where they continued faſting and praying fourteen days, barefooted, and clad in ſack-cloth[a]. Otho having given ſatisfaction to the church for his crimes, departed with his army to Germany; but he had no ſooner left Italy, than the Saracens made an irruption into Campania, and making themſelves maſters of Capua, ravaged the country, and threatened to invade the Roman territories. Otho being informed of theſe new hoſtilities of the infidels, returned to Italy with ſuch diſpatch, that he arrived with his army at Ravenna before the end of March. From thence marching directly againſt the enemy, he reduced Capua, and drove the infidels from all

and returns to Germany.

A.D. 1001.

He again enters Italy, defeats the Saracens, and marches to Rome.

[x] Leo. Oſt. lib. ii. cap. 18. [y] Blond. dec. ii. lib. 3. Chron. Sigebert. [z] Baronius, an. 996. [a] Ditman. lib. iv.

the towns which they had seized in that province [b]. After this expedition he returned to Ravenna, where he proposed to spend the winter; but hearing of some commotions at Rome, he marched thither with his army, where he kept his Christmas. After this festival, he made enquiry after the authors of the late disturbances, and put to death two of the most guilty, which punishment in some measure quelled the seditions.

The emperor publishes several decrees which irritate the Romans to a revolt.

During this tranquility, the emperor published several decrees for the better regulation of the church and the empire. He established every where governors and counts for the administration of justice. He ordered them to enquire into the usurpations made since the time of Otho the Great, and to cause all usurped possessions to be restored to their ancient proprietors. These regulations, far from procuring the esteem of the Romans, served only to excite a new conspiracy against the emperor, which was encouraged by the counts of Tuscany. The conspirators, finding that Otho continued in the city with a very few guards, resolved to make use of the opportunity, and suddenly besieged him in his palace. Those that continued faithful ran to his defence, but not being able to resist the conspirators, an accommodation was proposed. During the discussion of the articles, Henry, duke of Bavaria, and Hugh, governor of Florence, found means to amuse the seditious, and give the emperor and pope an opportunity of escaping.

They attack his palace.

He assembles his army to punish the Romans;

Otho having recovered his liberty, immediately assembled his army, that had been distributed into different quarters, and gave orders to the cities of Italy to send their quota of auxiliaries; at the same time a new reinforcement from Germany was on their march to join him. The Romans being afraid of his resentment, sent the widow of Crescentius to him, to endeavour to appease him.

A.D. 1002.

This woman, who had lived with him as his concubine, and was in hopes of being declared empress, finding him inflexible to all her intreaties, and that she herself had even lost his favour, departed full of revenge, and sent him afterwards as a present a pair of poisoned gloves, which affected him with such a languor, that he died soon after at Paterno [c] (F). The Germans endeavoured

but is poisoned by the widow of Crescentius.

[b] Sigebert, ad an. 1001.

[c] Ann. Paderb. ad an. 1002.

(F) This is the opinion of several authors, but Ditmar assures us, that he died of the small-pox (1).

(1) Ditmar, lib. iv.

to

to conceal his death from the Italians, and marched through Lombardy with the corpse dressed in the regal ornaments; however, the Italians having some suspicion of his death, attacked them at several places; but they defending themselves with vigour, arrived at Augsburg, without any considerable loss.

Ardoin marquis of Ivrea, is declared king of Italy.

The emperor's death being known in Italy, Lombardy was again thrown into confusion, upon account of his successor. One Ardoin, marquis of Ivrea, persuaded a great part of the nobles to declare against the Germans, alleging, that as Otho died without children, the Italians ought to assert their independency, and chuse a king of their own nation. Having, by his promises and money, prevailed upon many of the nobles to embrace his proposal, an assembly was held at Pavia, where he was declared king. Arnolphus, archbishop of Milan, returning soon afterwards from Constantinople, protested against the election of Ardoin, affirming, that by a decree of pope Gregory, a king of Italy could not be elected without his consent. He likewise called an assembly of the bishops at Lodi, where the election of Ardoin was declared void, and Henry, duke of Bavaria, who had been chosen emperor of Germany, was likewise acknowleged king of Italy. Ardoin, alarmed at the proceedings of the archbishop, immediately assembled some troops, resolved to compel the inhabitants of Milan, and the other favourers of the archbishop, to acknowlege his right. Henry being informed of the designs of Ardoin by Arnolphus, sent a small army into Italy, under the command of Otho, duke of Carinthia, and governor of the county of Verona; but Ardoin having his troops ready for action, immediately marched against him, and attacked him in the passes of the Alps, before he could be joined by the well-affected Italians; so that he was entirely defeated, and obliged to return to Germany. Though Ardoin by this victory was left without a rival in Italy, yet he was not able to reduce several cities in Lombardy, that still continued firm to the interests of the emperor; while others, particularly Pisa, Genoa, and Florence, took the opportunity of those disturbances to lay the foundations of their future grandeur. In the mean time, the archbishop of Milan dying, one Adelbert usurped the see without any election; and pope Sylvester dying at Rome, was succeeded by John Sico, a Roman, who enjoyed the papal dignity only five months,

The archbishop of Milan, with the bishops, acknowlege the emperor Henry.

[d] Sigon. lib. vii. p. 186.

and had for his ſucceſſor one John Faſan, a Roman alſo, who took the name of John XIX. In the year following, the greateſt part of Pavia was deſtroyed by fire, while all Italy was grievouſly afflicted with a famine, which introduced an epidemical diſtemper, that carried off great numbers of people [e].

A.D. 1005. Henry having by this time quieted the troubles in Germany, reſolved upon an expedition into Italy, being thereto earneſtly ſolicited by many of the biſhops and nobles, who were oppreſſed by Ardoin. Having aſſembled a formidable army, he arrived at Trent upon Palm Sunday, and after ſome ſharp diſputes with the troops of Ardoin, who attacked him in paſſing the Alps, he encamped near the Brenta. Ardoin finding himſelf diſappointed in oppoſing the Germans in their paſſage over the Alps, retired with his army to Ivrea, while Henry took poſſeſſion of Verona without oppoſition, and marched from thence to Pavia, where he was crowned king of Italy by the archbiſhop, in the preſence of the nobility, and amidſt the acclamations of the people. But, not many hours after, he was in great danger of his life, by an inſurrection of the populace, who having drank to intoxication on account of the ſolemnity, were excited by the partiſans of Ardoin to quarrel with the Germans, and attack the palace of the king. The army, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of the city, hearing of the danger of the emperor, ran to his aſſiſtance, ſcaled the walls, repulſed the rioters, and with great difficulty were prevented from pillaging and burning the city. Henry pardoned the inhabitants, and after giving audience to the deputies of the other cities of Lombardy, who came to aſſure him of their fidelity, he marched with his army to Milan, and from thence returned to Germany, by the country of the Griſons. As he had not time to eſtabliſh his authority in Italy, immediately upon his departure Ardoin took the field with an army, and ravaged the Milaneſe, and other provinces that held for the emperor.

Henry paſſes the Alps, defeats Ardoin, and is crowned at Pavia.

The inhabitants of Pavia conſpire againſt the emperor.

Henry pardons the conſpirators, and returns to Germany.

Three years after this tranſaction, John XIX. dying, Peter, biſhop of Alva, was choſen to ſucceed him, and took the name of Sergius IV. He governed the church of Rome not quite three years, and upon his death, the Romans were divided into factions, upon account of chuſing a ſucceſſor. Some elected one Gregory, but the other faction choſe John, biſhop of Porto, ſon of Gre-

[e] Sigebert, ad hunc an.

gory,

gory, count of Tusculum, who was consecrated, and took the name of Benedict VIII. But the party that favoured Gregory soon after prevailing, Benedict was expelled the city, and went to the emperor in Germany, to implore his protection [f]: at the same time Arnolphus, archbishop of Milan, sending ambassadors to Henry, intreating his assistance against Ardoin, the emperor resolved to march into Italy. Having settled the affairs of Germany in the best manner that he could, he left Saxony in the month of September, and entered Italy without opposition [g]. Ardoin not venturing to appear in arms against him, retired to his castle in Piedmont, and sent deputies to him, offering to deliver up the crown [h], on condition of being left in possession of the marquisate of Ivrea. Henry rejecting the proposal of Ardoin, marched to the plain of Roncalia, where the nobles of the cities and provinces came and did homage for their fiefs; after which ceremony he held an assembly, in which he published several laws against murder and unlawful marriages. Upon dismissing the assembly, He repaired to Pavia, where he kept his Christmas. Marching afterwards to Ravenna, he conferred the archbishoprick of that city, which had been seized by Adelbert, on his brother Arnolphus, and went, accompanied by his queen Cunigond, and many nobles and bishops, to Rome, where he received the imperial crown, which was also conferred on Cunigond, by pope Benedict, who had again got possession of his see [i]. Before he entered the church, the pope proposed to him the following question: "Will you observe your fidelity to me and my successors in every thing?" which demand, though a kind of homage, was submitted to by the emperor, who answered in the affirmative. After his coronation, Henry confirmed the privileges and donations granted by his predecessors to the Roman see, and added others, reserving still the sovereign authority, and the right of sending commissaries, to hear and redress the grievances of the people [k]. During his residence at Rome, Ditmar relates, that the Romans made an insurrection against the Germans, which, with great difficulty, and after much bloodshed, was at last quelled by the emperor, who soon after marched for Lombardy, and returned after Easter into Germany.

Benedict the Eighth is chosen pope, but is obliged to leave Rome.

A.D. 1013.

Henry enters Italy with an army;

A.D. 1014.

and is crowned emperor by the pope.

[f] Ditmar, lib. vi. p. 80. [g] Ditmar, ibid. [h] Annal. Brouv. p. 385. [i] Murator. tom. ii. p. 204. [k] Adlzreiter.

Ardoin surprises Vercelli, and takes several other cities.

Soon after the departure of Henry, Ardoin, still pretending to the kingdom of Lombardy, again appeared with a considerable army, and surprising Vercelli, marched against Novara; but not being able to reduce that city, he attacked Como, which he took by assault, and ravaged the country with his troops, even to the gates of Milan. The archbishop of Milan, alarmed at the progress of Ardoin, sent to Arnolphus, archbishop of Ravenna, for assistance, who immediately raised an army and joined that of Milan; after which junction, the two prelates recovered Vercelli and Como, and likewise reduced Cremona, which at first made some resistance. The people favouring the party of the archbishops, their army soon became very formidable; so that Ardoin, finding himself unable to defend his usurpations, and being sensible that he had lost the affection of the people, retired from the world, and went into the monastery of Frutari, where he died three years after his retreat [l]. Next year the Saracens of Sicily, in conjunction with those of Calabria, made a descent on the coasts of Tuscany, took and plundered l'Erici, and made themselves masters of the neighbouring country. Benedict, afraid lest they should advance towards Rome, raised some forces, and wrote to the bishops to join him with their troops, in order to attack the infidels: at the same time he assembled a great many ships, and sent them to that part of the coast where the infidels landed; notwithstanding this precaution, the chief of the Saracens found means of escaping, with a few attendants; but the rest were all killed or taken prisoners; among these last was the general's wife, whom the pope ordered to be beheaded [m].

The archbishops of Milan and Ravenna recover the cities, and Ardoin retires into a monastery.

A D. 1016.

The Saracens invade Tuscany, but are defeated.

About the same period great disturbances arose in Apulia and Calabria, occasioned by the severity of the Greek governor, named Catapan. The inhabitants of Bari revolted from the Greek emperor, and endeavoured to assert their freedom under the conduct of Melo and Dattus. They were however soon obliged to submit, and Melo and Dattus flying, the one to Capua and the other to Garigliano, a few years after hired some Norman adventurers, by whose assistance they renewed the war. The Normans distinguished themselves greatly by their valour; they were not, however, a match for the power of the Greeks, and Melo was at last obliged to have recourse to

A D. 1017.

The Normans assist the Apulians against the Greeks.

[l] Sigon. lib. viii. p. 190. Mabil Annal. Bened. sect. vii. p. 350.
[m] Ditmar, lib. vii. Annal. Boicæ Gent. p. 392.

the

the German emperor, who was likewise intreated by the pope to march into Italy. Lombardy was at this time greatly disturbed by a civil dissension among the nobles, many of whom envying the great wealth of Boniface, son of Tadeld, late marquis of Mantua, and jealous of his power, as he had contracted a marriage with Richild, daughter of the king's lieutenant in Lombardy, they assembled in a body, and attacked the bride with her retinue. She escaped falling into their hands, but her brother Conrad and several others were slain.

Henry, alarmed at the disorders that were increasing in Italy, at last resolved upon an expedition into that kingdom; and having made very considerable levies, passed the Alps with a formidable army, in the beginning of the spring. After he had advanced a considerable way, he divided his army into three bodies, marching himself with the principal division along the Adriatic sea to Traja, a city in Apulia, lately rebuilt and fortified by Basanus [n]; and ordering Poppo, archbishop of Triers, to march through the country of Marsi, now l'Abruzzo, with eleven thousand men: he gave the command of the third division, consisting of twenty thousand men to Pelegrine, archbishop of Cologn, and ordered him to march by Rome to Capua, to seize Pandulphus, and the abbot of Cassino [o]. The abbot being informed that the emperor wanted to seize him, embarked at Otranto, in order to sail to Constantinople, but was shipwrecked and perished in the voyage. Pelegrine, being afraid lest Pandulphus should likewise escape, marched directly for Capua, and invested the place; but Pandulphus came out of his own accord, and surrendered to Pelegrine, alleging, that he had committed no crime, and was ready to justify himself before the emperor. After the reduction of Capua Pelegrine joined the emperor, who was then besieging Traja, and having delivered his prisoner, Henry immediately assembled the nobles to judge him. He was found guilty and condemned to death, but, at the intercession of Pelegrine, his life was spared, and he was banished to Germany. The emperor having recovered several cities from the Greeks, had been employed in the siege of Traja for some time, the garrison being very strong, and expecting to be relieved by the emperor Basil, whose feet they boasted Henry would be obliged to kiss: but he having invested the city on every side, raised very strong ma-

A.D 1021. *Henry marches into Italy.* A.D. 1022.

The duke of Capua is taken prisoner and kept in irons.

[n] Blond. dec. ii. lib. 3. [o] Leo Ostiens. lib. ii. cap. 40.

chines against their walls, and, to prevent them from being burnt by the besieged, covered them with raw hides. At last, after three months siege, the city being greatly distressed, the inhabitants surrendered at discretion, and were pardoned by the emperor, on condition of delivering hostages for their future fidelity [p].

A.D.1023. After the reduction of Traja, and receiving hostages from the other cities of Apulia and Calabria, Henry marched to Capua, as his army had suffered greatly by the heats, and a dysentery made great havock in his camp [q]. Upon his arrival at Capua, he conferred that principality upon Pandulphus count of Tiano; and giving the title of counts to Stephen, Mello, and Peter, nephews of the late duke Mello, he left them, besides the Normans, several of his officers, to assist them in recovering Bari. Having settled these affairs, he went with the pope to the monastery of Cassino, where Theobald was elected abbot in the room of Atenulphus, and consecrated by Benedict. Henry, while he was there, being relieved of a fit of the gravel, attributed his cure to St Benedict, and from gratitude bestowed many valuable presents upon the abbey, and added to its other possessions some fiefs in the neighbourhood of Termini.

Henry reduces the greatest part of the cities of Apulia and Calabria.

A.D.1024. The distemper still increasing in his army, he left Cassino, and marched to Rome, from whence he soon after set out for Germany, where he died the year following, and was buried at Bamberg. A few months before the death of the emperor, died pope Benedict, who was succeeded by his brother John, then only a laic; but by the force of money, and the strength of the Tusculan faction, he obtained the papal dignity without a competitor, and took the name of John XX [r].

He returns to Germany, and dies.

Conrad is chosen emperor of Germany.

As Henry had no children he recommended to the nobles of Germany, Conrad, duke of Franconia, for his successor. Notwithstanding the recommendation of the emperor, there appeared a great many competitors at the election, which was held in a plain near Worms; but after canvassing the pretensions of the different candidates for six weeks, Conrad was at last elected, and soon after crowned at Mentz by Aribo the archbishop. As soon as the news of the death of the emperor Henry arrived in Italy, Heribert, archbishop of Milan, held an assembly of the bishops and nobles of Lombardy in the plain of Roncalia, and proposed to them the election of Conrad;

[p] Glaber, lib. iii. cap. 1. [q] Leo Ost. lib. ii. cap. 42 & 43.
[r] Glaber, lib. iv. cap. 1. Leo Ost. lib. xxvii. & lviii. in fine.

but

but the greatest part of the nobles being averse to the Germans, refused to agree to the proposal of the archbishop, and inclined to favour some other competitor. The assembly dispersing without coming to any determination, Heribert went into Germany, and, from his own authority alone, declared Conrad king of Italy, and took the oath of allegiance to him as such[r]. Conrad, in return for the services of Heribert, increased the privileges of his archbishoprick, allowing him not only to consecrate, but likewise to appoint the bishop of Lodi. The year after the return of Heribert, the bishop of Lodi dying, the archbishop immediately exercised his right, and appointed Ambrose to fill the vacant see: but the inhabitants of Lodi refusing to accept of him, Heribert immediately raised an army, and besieging their city, compelled them to receive him, and to take an oath of submission. The favour of the emperor, and the success of his arms against Lodi, excited Heribert to oppress the nobles of Milan, many of whom he deprived of their dignities; by which oppression, finding he had alienated their affections, he accused them of a conspiracy, and expelled them the city. The exiled nobles continuing in a body, took up their habitation in a place called Mons, or Motta (G), between Milan and Lodi, which they fortified; and having made an alliance with some cities disaffected to the archbishop, they assembled their forces and defeated Heribert, who thereupon fled to Germany, and invited Conrad to come into Italy[s].

Heribert, archbishop of Milan, declares Conrad king of Italy.

A.D. 1025.

In the mean time the Italian nobles, who were disaffected to Conrad, sent an embassy to Robert, king of France, offering the crown of Italy and the dignity of emperor to him, or his son Hugh, provided he would come into their kingdom with an army to oppose the entrance of the Germans. Robert refused to accept of their offer, both for himself and his son, as he knew he could not form any pretensions to the kingdom of Italy without exposing himself to a war with the Germans. The deputies having received a denial from the king of France, repeated their offer to William, duke of Guienne, who, after consulting

The nobles of Italy offer their crown to the king of France.

[r] Sigon. lib. viii. p. 193. [s] Idem ibid.

(G) Glaber accuses the inhabitants of this city of having renounced Christianity, and offering sacrifices to idols (1).

(1) Glaber, lib. iv. cap. 2.

the

the king of France, accepted of their offer in favour of his son; and that he might not be disturbed by the Germans, prevailed with many of the nobles of Lorrain to revolt from Conrad, they having at first opposed his election, and favoured one Cono or Conrad the younger[t]. William, thinking that he had disposed every thing to favour his enterprize, set out with an army for Italy; but before he had passed the Alps, he was informed that Conrad had reconciled the malecontents of Lorrain, and by means of the pope and the archbishop of Milan, had prevailed with the greatest part of the nobles and bishops of Italy to declare for him. Upon this intimation William immediately resigned his pretensions to Italy, and returned with his army to Guienne, not thinking it safe to venture among a people so fickle as the Italians, against so powerful a competitor as Conrad.

In the mean time, the emperor having quieted the commotions in Germany and Lorrain, caused his son Henry, then a boy about eight years of age, to be crowned king of Germany; afterwards publishing throughout all the provinces, that every lord that disturbed the public peace during his absence, should be put to the ban of the empire, he marched with his army towards Italy, and arrived at Vercelli about Easter. He met at first with some opposition; but having taken Ivrea, and obliged the inhabitants of Motta to surrender, he marched to Milan, and from thence to Modoelia, or Monza, where he desired to receive the crown of Italy according to the ancient usage; which being now revived by Conrad, was observed by most of the following emperors. After the ceremony of the coronation he marched with his army, and encamped in the plain of Roncalia, where he held a diet of the nobles and people, and published several new laws. Upon dismissing the diet he visited several of the cities of Italy, and sent part of his army to block up Pavia, which city, upon hearing of the death of Henry, had burnt the imperial palace, and being fortified with a strong garrison, had refused to acknowlege Conrad. The Imperialists investing the place very closely, the inhabitants were soon reduced to great distress, and consented to take the oaths of allegiance to Conrad, and rebuild the palace at their own charge. After the reduction of Pavia the emperor marched to some mountains near the Toza, in the Milanese, where he continued two months, on account of the excef-

A D. 1026.

Conrad enters Italy and is crowned at Monza.

He obliges Pavia to surrender.

[t] Sigebert, ad ann. 1026. Wippo.

five

five heats, and in the beginning of autumn advanced to Ravenna, where he spent the winter (H).

In the spring Conrad set out for Rome. Upon his approach to the city the nobility, clergy, and people came out to meet him, with palms and branches of trees in their hands, and conducted him to the church of St. Peter; when he came to the steps he was received by Rodolphus king of Burgundy, and Canute king of England and Denmark, who walked up, supporting the emperor. The archbishop of Milan being absent, the archbishop of Ravenna took Conrad by the hand and led him to the pope, who was seated on the steps of the altar; but the deputies of Milan calling out that he had usurped the office of their bishop, and a tumult arising, Conrad stopt, and desired the archbishop of Milan might be called. The deputies answering that he was absent for a just reason, the pope ordered that the bishop of Vercelli, his suffragan, should perform his office; and the tumult being appeased, Conrad received the imperial crown, which was likewise conferred on his wife Giselle °. A few days after this ceremony, which was performed on Easter Sunday, Conrad was alarmed with an insurrection of the Romans, which arose from a quarrel betwixt a German and an Italian, about purchasing the skin of an ox. The Romans running to the assistance of their countryman, immediately grew so outrageous, that they attempted to expel the emperor and his retinue; but the Germans taking arms, repulsed them, and, after much bloodshed, obliged them to submit. After this insurrection Conrad, not thinking himself safe in Rome, left the city, and marched with his army to Lombardy, and at Verona granted some privileges to that

A.D 1027.

He goes to Rome, and is crowned by the pope.

° Otho Frising. lib. vi. cap. 29. Aretin. Ann. Boii, lib. v. p. 460. Blond. dec. ii. lib. iii. Sigon. ubi supra.

(H) About this time flourished Guido Aretin, a monk of the order of St. Benedict, who was patronized by the pope, upon account of his eminent skill in music, he having rendered himself famous by inventing the six notes, which are still used, and which he named from the first syllables of the following lines of the hymn of St. John.

UT queant laxis
REsonare fibris,
MIra gestarum
FAmuli tuarum,
SOLve polluti
LAbii reatum.

He afterwards published a treatise, which he called Micrologus, and dedicated it to Theobald, bishop of Arezo.

bishoprick,

bishoprick, the charter being dated in that city on the 20th of May. Soon after he returned to Germany, and called a general diet at Ulm, to judge some nobles that had rebelled during his absence.

A few years after this event a faction in Rome expelled the pope, and committed very great disturbances, which the emperor being informed of, he marched with an army to Rome, and, after punishing the authors of the commotion, returned to Germany, to defend the kingdom of Burgundy, which had been left to him by Rodolphus before his death [p]. Conrad was not long returned to Germany when the Italians entered into a resolution of a general revolt, and swore that they would not allow any one to reign over them, who imposed any thing upon them without their own consent. The inhabitants of Cremona finding that their bishop opposed their designs, expelled him and his friends from their city; and not thinking the place strong enough, they entirely destroyed the fortifications, and rebuilt others larger and stronger, with a full resolution to defend their liberties against the emperor.

A.D. 1035.

The Italians revolt.

A.D. 1037. Conrad, though informed of these tumults, was hindered by the affairs of Germany from going into Italy till the end of the following year, when he passed the Alps with a formidable army, and arrived at Verona about the end of December. After Christmas he went to Milan, where he was received with great pomp by Heribert, in the church of St. Ambrose; but the inhabitants behaving in an insolent manner, he went to Pavia, where he called an assembly of the nobles to try those who had been accused of raising the late disturbances. Heribert being suspected of encouraging the commotions, was summoned to justify himself before the assembly; but he refusing to submit to their jurisdiction, Conrad ordered him to be seized and put under a guard. The bishops of Vercelli, Cremona, Placenza, and many others convicted of the conspiracy, were sent prisoners into Germany; and all those of Cremona who had been concerned in expelling their bishop, were deprived of their lands for five miles round, which were all conferred upon the bishoprick. Upon dismissing the assembly at Pavia, Conrad went to Ravenna; but being informed that Heribert had escaped, by making the German guards drunk with wine, and had returned to Milan, which he was fortifying, he immediately left

Conrad returns to Italy;

and sends many of the malecontents prisoners into Germany.

[p] Glaber, lib. iv. cap. 8 & 9.

Ravenna,

Ravenna, in order to put a stop to the designs of the archbishop. In his march he took possession of many of the castles of the malecontents, which he razed; and, upon his arrival at Cremona, he was met by the pope, who came there to intreat his favour towards many Italians, who had suffered greatly, though they had not been concerned in the revolt.

He besiges Milan, but without succes.

From Cremona the emperor marched to Milan, and the gates being shut against him, he invested the place, and ravaged all the country in the neighbourhood; but being baffled in his attacks upon the town, and losing a great many men, he set fire to the suburbs, and retired with his army, at the same time depriving Heribert of his archbishoprick, which he conferred on Ambrose, one of his cardinals, having prevailed with the pope, who was then only a boy of seventeen years of age, to excommunicate Heribert [q]. During the summer months Conrad distributed his troops into quarters of refreshment, but in the autumn he again assembled his army, and marched to Parma, where he proposed to continue during the winter. While A.D. 1038. the emperor was celebrating his Christmas in that city, a sedition arose in consequence of a quarrel betwixt the inhabitants and the soldiers, in which some chief officers were killed, at whose death the Germans were so enraged, that they set fire to the city, by which means the greatest part of it was destroyed. Conrad, not satisfied with this punishment, ordered their walls to be pulled down, in order to deter other cities from any seditious attempts. After this example of severity he marched to Rome, and having received many embassies from the monks of Cassino, both when he was in Germany and since his coming to Italy, intreating his protection against the violences of Pandulphus, prince of Capua, he sent some of his chief officers to him, ordering him to restore all that he had taken from the monastery without delay.

A sedition in Parma.

Conrad marches against Pandulphus.

Pandulphus refusing to obey, Conrad marched to Cassino, where he was received with the greatest respect. He and the empress having made some rich presents to the monastery, he marched afterwards to Capua, where he arrived on the eve of Whitsuntide, and next day was solemnly crowned (I), after which ceremony he quitted the city,

[q] Sigon. lib. viii. p. 196. Heribert, hoc ann. & seq.

(I) The coronation spoke of here was only a solemn repetition of what had formerly been done at Rome, Monza,

city, and encamped at Old Capua[r]. Pandulphus having abandoned the place upon the news of the approach of the emperor, had fled to the ſtrong caſtle of St. Agatha; but finding Conrad abſolute maſter of the country, he reſolved to make his peace with him, and offered for his pardon three hundred pounds of gold, one half to be paid immediately, and his ſon and nephew to be given hoſtages for the ſecurity of the payment of the reſt. The emperor agreed to his propoſal; but Pandulphus ſoon after repenting, and refuſing to fulfil it, Conrad gave the principality of Capua to Guiamar prince of Salerno, and, at his intreaty, confirmed Rainulphus the Norman in the county of Averſa. He likewiſe reſtored Atenulphus to his archbiſhoprick of Capua, and then marched with his army to Benevento, from whence he ſet out for Germany, by the coaſt of the Adriatic. During his march his army was attacked by a contagious diſtemper, of which a great many died, among whom was Herman duke of Suabia, the ſon of the empreſs by her firſt marriage, Cunon duke of Franconia, and Gonild, or Mathilda, the daughter of Canute king of England, who had married Henry, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, two years before.

He confers Capua on Guiamar.

A D. 1039. The Germans had no ſooner left Italy, than Heribert made great preparations for war againſt Ambroſe and all thoſe who favoured him; but Conrad dying the year following, Henry, his ſucceſſor, was reconciled to him, and ſent ambaſſadors, deſiring the crown of Italy, and promiſing future friendſhip. The wars in which Henry was engaged with the Bohemians and Hungarians, prevented him for ſeveral years from entering Italy. In the mean time the abbot of Caſſino, reſolving to expel the ſon of Pandulphus from the caſtle of St. Agatha, prevailed with Guiamar, duke of Capua, to march againſt the place with an army. The garriſon being informed that Pandulphus, inſtead of receiving aſſiſtance from the emperor at Conſtantinople, had been thrown into priſon, and hearing likewiſe that Guiamar intended to give the

Conrad dies.

[r] Leo Oſtienſ. lib. ii. cap. 66 & 67. Chron. Cavenſe, ad ann. 1038. Chron. Caſſin. ap. Murator. tom. v. p. 56.

Monza, and Germany; it being a cuſtom in thoſe times to perform this ceremony on any of the great feaſts of the church; and Conrad is even ſaid by Sigebert to have been crowned the year before, on Whitſuntide, at Miſſa, near Milan.

place

place to the inhabitants of Tiano, they voluntarily submitted to the abbot.

Soon after the city of Milan was greatly afflicted by domestic dissensions betwixt the nobles and the people, who having divided amongst themselves the power of their former dukes, could not agree about one prerogative, namely, the right of possessing the estates of persons dying without heirs. Each faction obstinately claiming this right, they had recourse to arms to justify their pretensions, and the people, fixing upon Lanzo Curtius, one of the nobles, and constituting him their chief, became immediately too strong for the other faction, and expelled them the city. The exiles still continuing in a body, and hiring other troops, returned against the city, which they reduced to great distress, by a very close siege. Lanzo, not able to repel the besiegers, fled to the emperor in Germany, imploring his assistance, which Henry immediately promised, on condition that he would admit fourteen thousand Germans into the city. Lanzo agreed to that condition; but, upon his return to Italy, reflecting that the German auxiliaries might be more dangerous to the city than their domestic enemies, he went privately to the camp of the nobles, and by shewing them their danger, prevailed with them to be reconciled to the people. The year after this reconciliation, Heribert dying, the nobles again began to oppress the people, and in an assembly made two decrees to strengthen their own power, one for the perpetual banishment of Lanzo and all his relations; the other, that if a nobleman killed a plebeian, he should only be punished by a small fine. The people, enraged at these injuries, chose another of the nobles, named Landulphus, for their patron; and the year following, at the election of the archbishop, opposed the faction of the nobles with great violence, proposing four candidates against Vido Valvasor, the person named by the nobles. The emperor approving of Vido, who was attached to his interest by personal friendship, the tumults greatly increased, and the people, in revenge, treated the new archbishop with all possible indignity[s].

A.D.1042.

Milan is greatly disturbed by two factions.

At this time Rome was likewise divided by two powerful factions; the chiefs of the one were the counts of Tuscany, or Tuscanelle, who, for almost two centuries, had governed with an absolute authority in the city, and destroyed the freedom of election of the popes. The other

A.D.1044.

The Romans oppose the counts of Tuscany, and expel pope Benedict.

[s] Sigon. lib. viii. p. 101.

faction

faction was supported by Ptolemy the consul, a man of great power, who boasted of his descent from the emperor Augustus[t]. The Romans under his command took arms, and expelled pope Benedict, whose scandalous life was universally offensive, at the same time substituting one of their own faction, John, bishop of Sabinum, who having procured the papal dignity by the force of his money, took the name of Sylvester III. Benedict was restored three months afterwards, by the Tuscan faction, and excommunicated Sylvester; but finding himself despised and hated by the Romans, he soon after resigned the pontificate to John archpresbyter of Rome, in consideration of a sum of money, and retired to his father's house, to continue his debauches with the greater freedom. Being soon tired of a private life, he resumed his dignity, which was at the same time claimed by the other two, who being each supported by their partisans, maintained themselves upon the revenues of the holy see: thus, while Benedict possessed the palace of the Lateran, Sylvester remained at St. Peter's, and the other at St. Mary Major, all three being remarkable for their scandalous lives[u]. Gratian, a Roman priest of piety and learning, observing that what they chiefly regarded was the revenues of the church, prevailed with them all to renounce the pontificate, in consideration of a yearly revenue, to be paid out of the patrimony of St. Peter, for which service the Romans were so grateful, that they elected him pope under the name of Gregory VI.

A.D. 1045.

Three popes at the same time have their residence at Rome.

A.D. 1046.

Henry being informed of these disturbances at Rome, at last resolved upon an expedition into Italy, and ordered the nobles of Lombardy to assemble against a certain day at Roncalia. As he was delayed on his march he did not arrive at the time appointed; and the nobles, having waited for him three days, separated on the fourth, after protesting that they had performed their duty as feudatories. Having at last passed the Alps, he marched to Milan without opposition, and establishing Vido, was crowned by him with the iron crown in the church of St. Ambrose; after which ceremony he went to Pavia, where he called an assembly of the states about the end of October, and restored those that had been exiled by Conrad. These exiles, according to Sigonius[w], upon their return

Henry marches into Italy with an army.

Is crowned with the iron crown at Milan.

[t] Petr. Diacon. Chron. Cassin. lib. iv. cap. 68. [u] Leo Ostiens. lib. ii. cap. 80. Otho Frisingens. lib. ii. cap. 32. [w] Sigon. lib. viii. p. 202.

to

to Italy, retired from the world, and took the habit of monks of the order of St. Benedict, having chosen for their residence a place called Rondinetum, near Como. The emperor having dismissed the assembly at Pavia, went from thence to Placenza, where he was met by the pope, who accompanied him to Sutri, in the neighbourhood of Rome: at Sutri he called an assembly of the bishops, where Gregory, being accused of simony, was deposed, and the papal see being declared vacant, the Romans referred the nomination of a new pope to the emperor, who proposing Suideger, or Hedeger, bishop of Bamberg, he was unanimously approved of, and took the name of Clement II. He was consecrated on Christmas-day, and the same day performed the ceremony of the coronation of the emperor and empress, after which they all three walked to the palace of the Lateran, with their crowns and robes. Having continued about a month in Rome, the emperor sent the late pope Gregory into Germany, and went, accompanied by the pope, to the monastery of Monte Cassino, from whence he marched to Capua, where he confirmed to the Normans the conquests they had made in Apulia [x].

Gregory IV. deposed.

A.D. 1047.

Clement II. is consecrated pope, and the same day crowns the emperor and empress.

The emperor confirms the Norman conquests in Apulia.

He marched afterwards to Lombardy, and celebrated his Easter at Mantua, from whence he proceeded to Roncalia, where he held an assembly of the states; there appointing a bishop for Pavia, and recommending him to the archbishop of Milan, he took his route over the Alps, accompanied by pope Clement. The Pavians, refusing to accept of the bishop named by the emperor, the archbishop of Milan raised some forces, in order to oblige them to receive him; but the Pavians meeting him in the field, an engagement ensued, which continued for some time with great obstinacy, till the Pavians being at last defeated, were obliged to submit and acknowlege their new bishop. Soon after the emperor's return to Germany, pope Clement died, and Benedict II. again seized upon the papal dignity, which he held for eight months, till the arrival of Poppo, bishop of Brescia, who assumed the name of Damasus II. he being sent from Germany by the emperor, in consequence of a decree made when Henry was at Rome, whereby the nomination of the popes was to depend solely upon the emperor [y].

A.D. 1048.

Clement dies, and the papal see is again invaded by Benedict.

[x] Leo Ostiens. lib. ii. cap. 81. Chron. Cavens. ad hunc an. Romuald. Chron. ad hunc an.

[y] Leo Ostiens. lib. ii. cap. 82.

Damasus II. is sent from Germany, but dies soon after.

Damasus enjoyed his new dignity only twenty-three days, and died at Preneste, whither he had retired during the heats of summer. Benedict, upon his death, again endeavoured to take possession of the papal see. But being extremely odious to the Romans, they sent an embassy to the emperor, desiring him to name a pope, who accordingly sent Bruno, bishop of Toul, who, with great unwillingness, accepted of his new dignity; but, having given his consent, he put on the pontifical habit, and set out for Rome. On his journey he was met by Hildebrand, abbot of Cluny, afterwards Gregory VII. who persuading him to lay aside his purple, and not to accept of the government of the church by the appointment of a layman, accompanied him to Rome, where he was unanimously elected by the clergy and the people, and took the name of Leo IX[z]. In the course of the following year Leo went into Campania, and made the cities renew their oaths of allegiance to the emperor and the church, at the same time dissuading them from any alliance with the Normans, whose power began to be dreaded in Italy. Having likewise freed the Beneventans from the sentence of excommunication, he set out for his bishoprick of Toul, in Lorrain, and afterwards had a conference with the emperor at Augsburgh. Upon his return to Rome, he called a council of bishops, in which Gregory, bishop of Vercelli, was deposed, having been accused of adultery and perjury. Soon after Drago, count of Apulia, having been assassinated by the Apulians, was succeeded by his brother Humphrey, who, being desirous of extending his dominions, invaded the territories of the church, plundering many churches and monasteries. At the same time his brother Richard, count of Aversa, being informed of the death of Pandulphus, raised an army, and took possession of Capua, while the pope, unable to oppose their arms, complained to the emperor, and excommunicated the states of Capua and Benevento. A few months after this incursion of the Normans, Boniface, marquis of Mantua, was assassinated at Spineta, and buried in the church of St. Andrew at Mantua, built by his wife Beatrice, who had by her husband two children, Boniface, and Mathilda, afterwards famous for her piety and liberality to the church[a].

A.D. 1049.

Bruno bishop of Toul, is elected pope, and takes the name of Leo IX.

A.D. 1052.

The Normans invade the territories of the church.

[z] Leo Ostiens. lib. ii. cap. 82. Romuald. Chron. ad hunc an. Pantheon Godfredi Viterbiens. [a] Chron. Cavens. ad hunc an. Sicardi Chron. Vit. Mathildis à Donizone.

The

The Normans still continuing to infest Campania with their incursions, Leo went into Germany to solicit the assistance of the emperor; and, after celebrating his Christmas with him at Worms, they had several conferences together about the affairs of Italy. Leo demanding the immediate jurisdiction of several abbies and churches in Germany that had been granted to the holy see by former emperors, Henry proposed he should give in exchange the city of Benevento, which was accepted by the pope, on condition that the emperor would allow him a strong body of Germans to repel the Normans, who, regardless of the censures of the church, were still committing great outrages in the Roman territories. Henry agreeing to his demand, granted him some troops, which were joined by great numbers of volunteers of profligate characters, who expected to enrich themselves by the expedition [b].

Leo IX. goes into Germany, to solicit the assistance of the emperor.

Leo, fully resolved to punish the Normans, marched for Italy with his army, accompanied by Godfrey, duke of Lorrain, Frederick, his brother, and several other nobles of Germany. Arriving at Rome about the beginning of Lent, he immediately held a council, to deliberate upon the expedition, and resolving to go in person against the enemy, the expectation of all Italy was raised for the event of the campaign. The Normans, alarmed at the great preparations against them, sent a submissive embassy to the pope, desiring peace, and offering to become his vassals, and to hold all their conquests of the holy see. Their request was denied by Leo, who insisted that their conquests belonged to the church of St. Peter, and therefore must be restored. The Normans answered, that what they had conquered by their arms they would likewise maintain by their arms; and, though very few in number, prepared to defend themselves to the utmost. Leo having a considerable army, and the Norman force consisting only of a very few infantry, with three thousand horse, he marched on, confident of victory, and gave orders to attack the enemy. His superiority of numbers soon gained him a great advantage, which the Normans being sensible of, they retreated from the field of battle, and pretended to fly. The enemy pursuing them in disorder, they returned to the charge with great fury, and the Italians immediately flying, they attacked the Germans, and, after a very great slaughter, entirely routed them. Leo, during the battle, retired to a strong town in the neighbourhood;

A.D. 1053.

He returns to Italy with an army.

Engages the Normans, but is entirely defeated and taken prisoner.

[b] Herman. Chron. hoc an.

but being besieged by the Normans, he was obliged to surrender in a few days, having first taken off the sentence of excommunication which he had laid them under the year before [c]. The Normans received the pope with great respect, and conducted him to Benevento, as though he had been a conqueror. The pope, finding his enemies so courteous, entered into a treaty with them, and confirmed to them all their conquests in Calabria and Sicily, and, after continuing six months at Benevento, returned to Rome on the 12th of April, and died a few days after. While Leo continued at Benevento, the emperor caused his son Henry, then a boy of three years of age, to be declared king of the Romans, in an assembly at Tribur, upon the Rhine, soon after which transaction, he was informed that his enemy Gozelo had married Beatrice, the widow of the marquis of Mantua, and that Godfrey, Gozelo's son, and duke of Spoleto and Tuscany, had married Mathilda.

A.D. 1054.

He is set at liberty and returns to Rome, where he dies.

A.D. 1055. After the death of Leo, the Roman see continued vacant eleven months and twenty-four days, occasioned by the violent intrusion of Benedict IX. who was supported by the counts of Tuscanelle. The clergy, not finding any one to oppose him at Rome, sent Hildebrand ambassador to the emperor, desiring him to appoint a person in Germany fit for that dignity. Henry immediately called an assembly of bishops at Mentz, where Gebehard bishop of Eichstet was chosen, much against his own inclination, and that of the emperor, who needed him greatly both for the education of his son, and his advice in affairs of state. However, he was conducted to Rome by Hildebrand, and being consecrated on Holy Friday, took the name of Victor II [d]. Soon after his promotion he called an assembly at Florence, to which he invited the emperor, who had entered Italy with an army, at the solicitation of the Italians, against Gozelo, the husband of Beatrice, whom they accused of aspiring to the sovereignty of Italy. Upon his arrival the emperor found Gozelo very submissive; and as he publicly declared that he was contented with the possessions he had acquired by his wife, he received him into his friendship, being afraid that, if he became disaffected, he would join in an alliance with the Normans [e].

Victor II. elected.

The emperor enters Italy with an army.

Receives the submission of Godfrey, duke of Lorrain.

[c] Gulielm. Apul. lib. ii. Leo Ostiens. lib. ii. cap. 85—88. Herman. Chron. hoc anno. Chron. Cavense. Romuald Chron. [d] Herm. Chron. Leo Ostiens. lib. ii. cap. 90. [e] Sigon. lib. viii. p. 207.

Henry

Henry having celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter at Mantua, arrived at Florence about Whitſuntide, and was preſent at the council, where ſeveral new canons were made for the regulation of the church. In the mean time Gozelo, or Godfrey, duke of Lorrain, notwithſtanding his apparent reconciliation with the emperor, left Italy, and went to his brother Baldwin, count of Flanders. Beatrice his wife coming afterwards to the emperor, to juſtify herſelf and her huſband, Henry, who was offended at his departure, detained her, and carried her priſoner with him into Germany. Her ſon Boniface dying before ſhe left Italy, Mathilda remained ſole heireſs of all her poſſeſſions. Henry, having ſettled the affairs of Italy, returned, in the beginning of the winter, to Germany, and died the year following at Butfeld, near Paderborn, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, having, a little before his death, called a diet of the empire at Goſlar, at which the pope was preſent, and, together with the nobles of Germany, confirmed the election of his ſon Henry. A.D. 1056.

He returns to Germany, and dies.

Immediately after the death of Henry, the empreſs Agnes, under pretence of being guardian to the young emperor, aſſumed the whole authority, having gained the biſhops and many of the nobles, and likewiſe ſecured the fidelity of the troops of Bavaria and Franconia. A diet being ſoon after called at Cologne, Henry was acknowleged without oppoſition, and a reconciliation was effected betwixt the empreſs and Baldwin, count of Flanders, and his brother Godfrey, marquis of Tuſcany or Etruria, by means of the pope. The Italians likewiſe, being now accuſtomed to the German princes, made no oppoſition to Henry, and received Gilbert Corrigia of Parma as the emperor's legate, or vicar, in Italy [f]. Victor II. having continued with the young emperor for ſome weeks after Chriſtmas, returned to Italy, and ſtopped at Florence. While he continued in that city, Frederick, another brother of Godfrey, marquis of Tuſcany, who, two years before, had turned monk at Caſſino, and was now elected abbot of that monaſtery, came to him, attended by eight brothers of the order, to receive conſecration, and to complain of ſome violences of the count of Tiano. The pope having excommunicated the count, created Frederick a cardinal, and ſoon after conſecrated him abbot of Monte Caſſino. The new abbot continued for ſome time with the pope; but, having obtained his leave, he went to Rome,

His ſon Henry is acknowleged emperor.

A.D. 1057.

[f] Sigon. lib. ix. p. 209.

Frederick, brother to the marquis of Tuscany, is chosen pope, and takes the name of Stephen IX.

where, a few weeks after his arrival, news were brought of the death of the pope at Florence. The cardinals immediately assembled for the election of a successor, and, after deliberating some time, united their votes for the cardinal Frederick, whom they brought by force from his lodgings to the church of St. Peter, where he was unanimously declared pope, and named Stephen IX[g]. Immediately after his consecration, Stephen sent Hildebrand as his legate to the empress Agnes, to inform her of what had been done, and to consult with her concerning the reformation of the clergy, who were universally accused of simony.

Disputes betwixt the clergy and inhabitants of Milan.

The church of Milan, which, for almost two hundred years, had separated from the church of Rome, was at this time likewise remarkable for simony, and other irregularities, benefices being entirely procured by money, without any regard to merit. Landulphus Cotta, the prefect of the people, endeavouring to reform this abuse, was opposed by Vido, the archbishop, who was supported by the nobles. At last, the people having compelled the married priests to perform divine service apart by themselves, and the boys giving them the name of Patarini, in contempt, from the name of the place where they performed their functions, Vido called an assembly of his bishops, and, by a public decree, gave allowance to the clergy to marry[h].

A.D. 1058.

Stephen forms a design of conferring the imperial crown on his brother.

Stephen having continued four months at Rome, employed in reforming the abuses of the church, went, in the beginning of December, to the monastery of Monte Cassino, where he consecrated a new abbot, and sent him as his legate to the emperor of Constantinople. Returning afterwards to Rome, he is said[i] to have formed a design of conferring the imperial crown on his brother Godfrey, who, by his marriage with the countess Beatrice, was in possession of Lucca, Parma, Reggio, Mantua, and all that country which is at present called the Patrimony of St. Peter[k]. Stephen, in order to assist his brother to raise troops, sent to the abbot of Monte Cassino, desiring him to bring all the gold and silver of his monastery, as privately as possible, to Rome, promising to repay it in a short time, with a large addition. The abbot obeyed; but, upon his arrival at Rome, testifying a great reluc-

[g] Leo Ostiens. lib. ii. cap. 96—98. [h] Blond. dec. ii. lib. iii. Sigon. ubi supra. [i] Leo Ostiens. lib. ii. cap. 99 & 100. [k] Blond. ubi supra.

tance

tance at parting with the immenſe wealth, the pope was ſo moved, that he ordered it to be immediately carried back, reſerving only a ſmall Greek image, which he himſelf had brought from Conſtantinople. Going afterwards to Florence, to have a conference with his brother, and, according to ſome authors, to declare him emperor, he died in that city, on the 28th of March, in the eighth month of his pontificate.

He dies at Florence.

Upon the news of the death of Stephen, great diſturbances aroſe at Rome; the Tuſculan faction, preſuming upon the minority of the emperor, ruſhed at night, with a body of armed men, into the Vatican church, where they declared their relation John, biſhop of Velitri, pope, by the name of Benedict X. and the cardinals and biſhops flying from Rome, they cauſed him to be conſecrated by a preſbyter of the church of Oſtia; both pope and prieſt were equally ignorant, as Peter Damian, a man of great piety and learning, then biſhop of Oſtia, declares, in one of his letters, that if either of them could read a page, he would not only reckon Benedict a pope, but an apoſtle[l]. Hildebrand, at this time returning from his embaſſy in Germany, and hearing of the intruſion of Benedict, ſtopped at Florence, and aſſembling the biſhops and cardinals at Siena, elected Gerard, biſhop of Florence, who took the name of Nicholas II. Having ſent to demand the confirmation of the emperor, Henry not only granted their requeſt, but ordered Godfrey, marquis of Tuſcany, to put Gerard in poſſeſſion of the apoſtolic ſee. Before he entered Rome, Nicholas held a council at Sutri, at which were preſent Godfrey, Mathilda, Guibert the chancellor, and a great many biſhops of Tuſcany and Lombardy. The council having depoſed and excommunicated Benedict, Nicholas advanced to Rome, where he was received by the clergy and people with great reſpect. Soon after his arrival he held another council, conſiſting of one hundred and thirteen biſhops, beſides abbots, prieſts, and deacons, in which, among other matters, it was decreed, that, for the future, the pope ſhould be elected only by the cardinals; but, that the emperor might take no offence, a clauſe was added, reſerving to him all due honour and reſpect[m].

The Tuſculan faction declare the biſhop of Velitri pope, by the name of Benedict X.

A.D. 1059.

The cardinals and biſhops elect the biſhop of Florence.

Benedict is excommunicated.

As Nicholas wanted to ſettle all diſputes with the Normans, he transferred the aſſembly to Melfi, whither Robert Guiſcard and his brother Richard came with a nu-

Pope Nicholas makes a treaty with the Normans;

[l] Pet. Dam. Epiſt. [m] Baron. ad hunc an.

merous retinue. As they proposed holding their possessions of the pope, it was agreed, that the Normans should restore to the holy see the city of Benevento, and all other lands which they had conquered from it; and that the pope should give them a solemn absolution of all former sentences of excommunication. Nicholas then gave the investiture of the principality of Capua to Richard; and of the dukedoms of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily to Robert, both princes swearing to be true and faithful feudatories to the holy see, and to pay every year twelve deniers of the money of Pavia, for every yoke of oxen in their dominions [n]. The treaty with the Normans being concluded, some of that nation, at the persuasion of Nicholas, marched through Campania, and invaded the territories of the counts of Tuscanelle, under pretence of their rebelling against their lord the pope. Having entered their country, they committed great outrages, so that the counts were obliged to submit to the pope, and to intreat his intercession with the invaders [o].

and gives the investiture of Capua to Richard; and of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, to Robert.

While these things were transacted in Apulia, and at Rome, Peter Damian had arrived at Milan, as pope's legate, to terminate the disputes in that city, having been sent for by the prefect Landulphus. The people being informed of the design of his coming, assembled in great crowds at the palace, and, by ringing the bells, and blowing trumpets, raised a great insurrection in the city, threatening to put the legate to death, and exclaiming, that the pope had no right to regulate their church, which was independent of the Roman see. Peter going into the church, made a discourse to the people, which had such an effect upon them, that they immediately submitted. Proceeding then to examine into the grievances complained of, he found that there was scarce one priest, but who had purchased his preferment, and lived with a concubine. The archbishop being brought at last to acknowlege that he had transgressed the canons, and swearing, with his clergy, never again to commit the like offences, he was pardoned by the legate, who quickly left the place. Upon his departure, the clergy reviling the archbishop, for betraying the rights of their church, he again allowed them to keep concubines, a licence which being opposed by the people, the city was again thrown into great confusion [p].

Peter Damian goes to Milan as pope's legate.

A.D. 1060.

The archbishop and clergy swear to reform the abuses in that church.

[n] Chron. Cassin. lib. iii. cap. 16. Gul. Apul. lib. ii. Vita Nicolai. Leo Ostiens. lib. iii. cap. 13. [o] Vit. Pont. Rom a Nicol. Card.
[p] Sigon. lib. ix. p. 112. Vit. Pont. Rom. a Nicol. Card.

Pope

Pope Nicholas dying about two years after, the city of Rome was greatly divided, on account of chusing a successor. Hildebrand persuaded the cardinals and bishops to have no regard to the emperor, but immediately to proceed to the election; on the other hand, the counts of Tuscany supported the rights of the emperor, in hopes that he would assist them in recovering what the Normans had lately taken from them. This faction being joined by cardinal Hugh, a German, and by the bishops of Lombardy, they sent an embassy to the emperor, in the name of the senate, the clergy, and people, to present him with with a crown of gold, and the title of patrician of Rome, at the same time intreating him to nominate a pope [q]. Hildebrand and his party, hearing that the other faction were accusing them to the emperor, sent the cardinal Stephen as their ambassador to the imperial court; who, after waiting five days without being admitted to an audience, returned to Rome. Upon his return, the cardinals, pretending necessity, and the danger of a civil war, immediately elected Anselm, bishop of Lucca, who being soon after conducted to Rome by the marquis Godfrey, was consecrated without the authority of the emperor, and took the name of Alexander II. A.D. 1061

Rome in great confusion on the death of pope Nicholas.

The counts of Tuscany support the rights of the emperor, in opposition to the cardinals, who elect Anselm, bishop of Lucca, who takes the name of Alexander II.

The news of this election arriving at Basil, where the emperor had called an assembly of bishops, it was judged a high contempt of the imperial authority: the chancellor Guibert affirming that the emperor ought to exercise his power in nominating a pope, proposed Cadalous, bishop of Parma, who was immediately chosen by the bishops of Placenza and Vercelli, from Italy, and all the other bishops present in the assembly. This prelate being confirmed by the emperor, assumed the pontifical habit, with the name of Honorius II. and engaging the Lombards to take arms to support his cause, marched towards Rome, where he had a powerful party. Alexander, hearing of his approach, retired to Tuscany, while Cadalous, attended by the chancellor Guibert, and many bishops of Lombardy, arrived with his army, and encamped before the city [r], on the 12th of April. The people of Rome, who had hitherto favoured Alexander, immediately took arms, and having got possession of the gates, made a sally upon the enemy; but, attacking them without order, were repulsed with considerable loss. In the mean time, Godfrey,

Cadalous, bishop of Parma, is appointed by the emperor, who takes the name of Honorius II.

A.D. 1062.

He goes to Rome with an army, but is defeated by Godfrey, marquis of Tuscany.

[q] Herm. ad hunc an. Vit. Pont. Rom. a Nicol. Card.

[r] Otho Frisingens. lib. vi. cap. 44.

frey, marquis of Tuscany, having assembled an army, marched to the relief of the city, and attacking Cadalous, entirely defeated him, and obliged him to return to Parma, where he still continued to assume the title of pope, and to endeavour to increase his party, by the influence of his money. Having by these means procured the favour of a great many nobles of Rome, in the beginning of the spring, he was again invited to the city, which he reached without being observed, by travelling in the night; and, having privately entered the Leonine city, so called from pope Leo, he endeavoured, by the help of his partisans, to get possession of the Vatican. The attack being made during the night, the Romans at first were in great confusion; but, by day-break, discovering the fraud, they repulsed Cadalous and his party, and obliged them to fly to the castle, where they were immediately besieged.

He again enters Rome, but is besieged in the castle of St. Angelo.

The emperor is taken from his mother, and the administration committed to the archbishops of Cologne and Bremen.

In the mean time, the young emperor, having been taken by a stratagem from the hands of his mother, who, by several acts of her administration, had given offence to the nobles of Germany, his education, and the management of the affairs of the empire, were committed to Anno, or Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, and Adelbert, archbishop of Bremen, who immediately deprived Guibert of the office of chancellor, and conferred it upon Gregory, bishop of Vercelli. Anno, likewise desirous to put an end to the schism of the church, called an assembly of bishops at Osbore, or Osber, in Saxony, in which Alexander was declared duly elected; but hearing that Cadalous still disturbed Italy, by keeping up his pretensions, he went himself into that kingdom. Arriving at Rome, he represented to the pope, that, by his election, he had infringed the rights of the emperor, and therefore he ought to resign, or call a general council, to shew the justice of his cause. The pope received Anno with great civility, and consented to a general council, which was called at Mantua; and Alexander, in the presence of the Italian, German, and Spanish bishops, clearing himself, by an oath, of the crime of simony, of which he was accused, Cadalous was unanimously deposed, and the right of Alexander acknowleged. In the mean time Cadalous, finding his cause declining, bribed Cincius, a Roman citizen of great power, by whose means he escaped from the castle of St. Angelo, and returned to his church, where, though despised by every man, he still retained the pontifical habits till his death, which happened in the course of the following year.

A.D. 1064.

Anno, archbishop of Cologne, comes into Italy, to put an end to the schism of the church of Rome.

During

During these disputes betwixt Cadalous and Alexander, the factions still continued at Milan. Erlembaldus, the prefect of the city, having received from Alexander, soon after his promotion, a decree, condemning the clergy who kept concubines, immediately expelled all the clergy who had families, and threatened the archbishop, the captains and their vassals, with death, if they offered to make any opposition. He was assisted by one Arialdus, a deacon, of noble birth, who, several years before, had gone to reside at Milan, to oppose what he reckoned a heresy among the clergy [e]. Erlembaldus, after the dismission of the council at Mantua, waited upon Alexander at Lucca, where he obtained a new edict against the married clergy, and likewise letters of excommunication against the archbishop Vido, which he published upon his return to Milan. The archbishop being highly offended at this step, on the Sunday of Pentecost exclaimed against Erlembaldus from the pulpit: a tumult arising, the different parties attacked one another in the church, and continuing the attack afterwards in the streets, a great many persons were slain. The citizens blaming Arialdus, as the cause of this disturbance, he thought fit to leave the city; but, being seized near the Lago Maggiore, by the niece of the archbishop, he was cruelly put to death by her servant maids [f]. Erlembaldus, after the death of Arialdus, continued quiet for some time; but going in the following year to Rome, he obtained a decree, that no person ought to be accounted a lawful bishop, though chosen by the clergy and people, unless approved of by the pope, and, returning to Milan, obliged the clergy and people to give their assent to it by oath.

The people of Milan expel the married clergy.

A.D. 1065.

Erlembaldus the prefect receives letters of excommunication from the pope, against the archbishop.

Vido finding no end of the disturbances, at last resolved to abdicate his bishoprick, and sent the pastoral rod and the ring to the emperor. Godfrey, a deacon of that church, having before made a private agreement with Vido, immediately went into Germany, and, by giving a large sum of money to the emperor, obtained from him the investiture of the archbishoprick. Godfrey was equally unacceptable to both factions: the pope having sent letters to Milan condemning his election, Erlembaldus opposed his entrance into the city, and obliged him to retire, first to Varisium, and from thence to Castellio, where he was besieged for several months. While the inhabitants

A.D. 1067.

Vido abdicates the archbishoprick, which the emperor confers on Godfrey.

[e] Baron. Annal. Syrus in Vit. Arialdi. [f] Landulph. Mediol. Histor. lib. iii. cap. 29.

of

of Milan were employed in this siege, their city, by some unknown means, was set on fire, and the greatest part of it consumed, which calamity obliged the citizens to raise the siege of Castellio: but, upon their return to Milan, taking an oath never to admit Godfrey, Erlembaldus informed the pope of their resolution; and, having received the title of standard-bearer of the holy Roman church, he procured the election of one Atto, who was consecrated in the presence of the pope's legate, without the authority of the emperor. The other faction, highly displeased at this infringement of the emperor's right, assembled in a tumultuous manner, and broke into the palace, as the new archbishop and his friends were going to sit down to a grand entertainment. The guests immediately dispersed; but the rioters having found Atto, beat him in a cruel manner, and dragging him out from the palace, obliged him to abdicate his new dignity in the church of St. Ambrose[g]. The pope being informed of this disturbance, excommunicated Godfrey, and confirmed the election of Atto by a new decree; while the emperor, thinking his prerogative infringed by the proceedings of the pope, assisted Godfrey to recover a part of the possessions of his bishoprick, who, in the mean time, resided at Brebia, a small city on the frontiers of Montferrat. The pope being highly displeased that the emperor had opposed his decrees, made complaints to Anno, archbishop of Cologne, and Herman, bishop of Bamberg, who were then in Italy, collecting the revenues of the empire: in the following year, he sent by them letters to the emperor, citing him to appear before his tribunal, to justify himself of the crime of simony, and giving the investiture of churches without the approbation of the see of Rome.

A.D.1072.

Erlembaldus procures the election of Atto, a priest, who is confirmed without the authority of the emperor.

A.D.1073.

g Arnulph. Histor. Mediol. lib. iii. cap. 23. Sigon. lib. ix. p. 217.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Containing the Disputes betwixt the Emperor Henry IV. and the See of Rome.

Death of Alexander and election of Gregory VII.

ALEXANDER dying soon after, on the 20th of April, this citation had no effect; and his successor Hildebrand, who took the name of Gregory VII. having been elected in a precipitate and irregular manner, the day after the death of Alexander (A), thought proper, at first, to avoid irritating the emperor. He sent an embassy to him at Augsburg, declaring that he had been elected against his will, and intreating him not to consent to his election, promised that he would not allow himself to be consecrated till he had received his determination. Henry was almost prevailed upon by the persuasions of the nobles and bishops of Germany, to take Gregory at his word, and to refuse his consent; but, as it was his own opinion that Gregory's submission and humility were sincere, he sent count Eberhard to Rome, to inquire into his election. Gregory received the count with great respect, and soon satisfied him with regard to his election, which the emperor being informed of, he sent the bishop of Vercelli, his chancellor in Italy, to confirm his election, and to be present at his consecration [a]. Gregory having now got full possession of the apostolic see, soon

[a] Baron. Annal. Lambertus, hoc anno.

(A) Gregory was born at Soan, in Tuscany, of a low extraction, his father being a carpenter. He made early progress in literature, and being of an active and ambitious spirit, soon distinguished himself in life. He was sent by Victor II. as legate into France, and employed afterwards in several embassies. During the pontificate of Alexander, being created chancellor, he ruled the church with an absolute authority; and discovering an extraordinary zeal for extending the power of the apostolic see, he was chosen by the cardinals to succeed him. He was of a low stature and ungraceful appearance, but of an impetuous and domineering spirit. Not content with being the spiritual head of Europe, he arrogated to himself temporal authority, deposing princes, and conferring kingdoms; his extravagant ambition, which, in a more enlightened age, would have appeared chimerical, then meeting with success.

disco-

diſcovered, by his letters, that he was reſolved, at any rate, to oblige the emperor to deſiſt from conferring benefices: and likewiſe publiſhed a decree, forbidding the biſhops to take the title of pope, which name he appropriated to himſelf alone. Before he was a month elected, he ſent the cardinal Hugh as his legate into Spain, to reform the abuſes in that kingdom; but principally to claim, for the apoſtolic ſee, all the conqueſts that had been lately made from the Moors, under pretence that the kingdom of Spain, before the invaſion of thoſe infidels, was tributary to the Roman ſee. Henry, finding that Gregory began his pontificate with vigour, ſent him a ſubmiſſive letter, acknowleging his former errors, which he attributed to his youth, and to bad counſellors, and deſiring him to correct what was amiſs in the church of Milan, promiſing to aſſiſt him in every thing with his imperial authority [b].

Gregory receives the allegiance of the dukes of Benevento and Capua.

In the mean time the pope left Rome, and having viſited Paterno, went to Monte Caſſino: from thence, taking the abbot Deſiderius along with him, he repaired to Benevento, where he entered into an agreement with Landulphus, by which the duke bound himſelf never to be unfaithful to the holy Roman church, under the penalty of forfeiting his title. From Benevento Gregory went to Capua, where he received the oath of fidelity from the duke Richard, who, among other things, promiſed to aſſiſt the pope in defending the rights of St. Peter, to reſign all the churches of his dominions to the authority of the Roman ſee, and to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, when he ſhould be deſired by the pope or his ſucceſſors. While he continued at Capua, he ordained James archbiſhop of Cagliari; he ſent a letter to the governor of the iſland of Sardinia, informing him that the dominion of Sardinia belonged to the Roman ſee, that the Normans and Lombards had formerly deſired leave to invade it, promiſing to reſign one half of the iſland entirely to the ſee of Rome, and to pay homage for the other half: but the pope aſſured him if he continued in his obedience he would not allow any one to moleſt him. Before he returned to Rome, he wrote a letter to the biſhop of Chalons, threatening to excommunicate the king of France, and to abſolve his ſubjects from their allegiance, if he did not deſiſt from conferring be-

Threatens to excommunicate the king of France.

[b] Epiſt. Hen. ap. Baron.

nefices

nefices for money, of which hereſy he was then greatly accuſed.

The good underſtanding betwixt the emperor and the pope was of very ſhort continuance; for, in the following year, he ſent the empreſs Agnes, and four Italian biſhops as his legates, to the emperor, to hold a council in Germany, in order to judge and condemn all the biſhops and abbots who ſhould be found guilty of ſimony. The emperor received the legates with great civility, but, by the general advice of his clergy, would not allow them to call a council in Germany; and ordered the biſhop of Bremen to tell them, that the archbiſhop of Mentz was declared the only vicar of the apoſtolic ſee in Germany by the late pope Alexander II. The legates inſiſted that this grant ceaſed with the death of the pope; but not being able to obtain any thing of the emperor, they excommunicated the biſhop of Bremen, who pretended that the privilege of vicar belonged to him as well as to the archbiſhop of Mentz [c], after which ſtep, they returned to Rome [d]. A D. 1074. *Sends his legates into Germany to hold a council.*

In the mean time Gregory held a general council, at the Lateran, of the biſhops and abbots of Italy, in which were preſent the marchioneſs Mathilda, and Giſulphus duke of Salerno, beſides Guibert, or Gilbert, the late chancellor, who had been created archbiſhop of Ravenna by Alexander. In this council it was ordained, that if any one ſhould take the inveſtiture of a church from a layman, both he who gave and he who received the inveſtiture ſhould be excommunicated [e]. The biſhops of Ratiſbon, Conſtance, and Lauſanne, with the counts Edward and Uldaric, were likewiſe excommunicated, being accuſed of adviſing the emperor to claim the privilege of conferring benefices. The council likewiſe decreed, that all married prieſts ſhould either diſmiſs their wives or be depoſed; which decree, when it was publiſhed in Germany, was oppoſed by all the clergy of that kingdom, who accuſed the pope of contradicting a precept of St. Paul. Nevertheleſs, Gregory perſiſted in his purpoſe, and renewed a decree of his predeceſſors, forbidding any one to hear maſs performed by a married prieſt. Gregory, having diſmiſſed the council, wrote to the count of Burgundy for a body of troops, deſigning an expedition *A general council at Rome.*

[c] Petrus Bibliothec. in Vit. Pontif. Rom. [d] Vit. Pontif. Rom. a Card. Arragon. ap. Murator. Blond. dec. ii. lib. iii. Lambert, loc an. [e] Sigon. lib. ix. p. 217.

againſt

against Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, who, though excommunicated by the late council for invading Campania, still continued his hostilities, and had made an alliance with the emperor Henry [f]. Besides this expedition against the Normans, Gregory proposed a crusade against the Saracens, who were then threatening Constantinople; for which purpose he wrote several letters to all Christians, exhorting them to lay down their lives for their brethren; and having, by this expedient, levied thirty thousand men, he wrote to the emperor, desiring his counsel, and assistance, informing him, that he designed likewise to recover the Armenians to the true faith [g]. But Henry paying no regard to his letter, and the emperor of Constantinople having gained some advantages over the Saracens, this expedition of the pope was laid aside; however, the Normans alarmed at these warlike preparations, ceased their hostilities, and evacuated Campania; and Robert wrote to the pope, offering any security for his future fidelity, on condition of being absolved from the sentence of excommunication. Gregory did not grant his request, but referred it to the consideration of a general council, which was to be held at Rome in the following year, during the time of Lent. The council being assembled, threatened Philip, king of France, with excommunication, if he did not satisfy the nuncios of the pope; and they suspended the archbishop of Bremen, and the bishops of Strasburgh, Spire, and Bamberg, if they did not appear to give satisfaction before Easter. In Lombardy, the bishop of Pavia was suspended, and the bishop of Placenza deposed.

Gregory proposes a crusade against the Saracens.

A.D. 1075.

The Normans obliged to quit Campania.

About this time Gregory wrote to Sueno, king of Denmark, desiring him to send deputies to Rome, to inform him of the state of affairs in his kingdom, and offering him a province of Italy, then possessed by the heretics, if he would assist the holy see against its enemies. These arbitrary proceedings of the pope gave new spirits to the faction of Erlembaldus at Milan. At the feast of Easter, Erlembaldus presenting a new chrism for the use of baptism, and the cardinals of the church refusing to consecrate it, one Luitprandus, a priest, usurped their office, and baptized all that presented themselves. The people, highly offended at this usurpation, left the city, and made an agreement, which they confirmed with an

The pope offers Sueno, king of Denmark, a province in Italy.

[f] Arnulph. Histor. Mediol. lib. iv. cap. 7. Epist. xlix. lib. ii. Epist. xxxi, & xxxvii.

[g] Greg. lib. i.

oath,

oath, to accept of no archbishop who was not confirmed by the emperor. Soon after, returning to the city, they slew Erlembaldus in a tumult, and seizing Luitprandus, cut off his nose and ears [h]. Henry having been engaged in a war with the Saxons ever since the accession of Gregory to the pontificate, had hitherto behaved with respect and submission, not willing to increase the number of his enemies, and hoping that the pope would observe some measures in his conduct; but finding his usurpations exorbitant, he resolved to assert his own authority. As the inhabitants of Milan refused to accept of Godfrey, and had sent an embassy to him, acquainting him with the death of Erlembald, and desiring an archbishop, he allowed them to chuse whom they pleased, promising to confirm him. The ambassadors fixing upon Tedald or Theobald, one of the king's chaplains, he received the investiture of the archbishoprick, and at Milan was consecrated by the same persons who had formerly consecrated Godfrey. Thus at the same time there were three archbishops to the same see; Theobald residing at Milan, Godfrey at Plebia or Brebia, and Atto at Rome [i].

Erlembaldus killed at Milan.

Three archbishops possess the see of Milan at the same time.

Henry likewise countenanced the bishop of Bamberg, and the other bishops suspended by the council of Rome; and the archbishop of Mentz went to Italy to intercede with the pope in their behalf [k]; but he could obtain nothing from Gregory, but leave to assemble a council in Germany, in order to determine the dispute concerning the celibacy of the clergy. The assembly was accordingly held at Mentz in the month of October; but the pope's legate, who had attended the archbishop into Germany, no sooner proposed the question concerning celibacy, than the whole clergy who were present rose up in a tumultuous manner, and threatened the life of the archbishop and the legate. The assembly immediately dismissing, the archbishop wrote to the pope, referring all future determinations of that question to the see of Rome.

In the mean time, Gregory having received an embassy from Geysa, king of Hungary, who, the year before, had expelled Solomon, he wrote a letter to him, informing him, that the kingdom of Hungary had been granted to the see of Rome, by Stephen their first Christian king;

Gregory claims Hungary and Russia, as fiefs of the apostolic see.

[h] Arnulph. Histor. Mediol. lib. iv. cap. 9 & 10. Sigon. lib. ix. p. 219. [i] Landulph. senior. Histor. Mediol. lib. iv. cap. 2.
[k] Baron. Annal. ad ann. 1075.

therefore, if he would hold it as a fief of the holy see, he might expect his assistance against his competitor Solomon. He wrote likewise to Demetrius, king of Russia, who being engaged in a war with his brother, had sent his son to Rome, offering to hold his kingdom as a fief of the apostolic see, on condition of having the investiture from the pope; wanting thereby to strengthen his authority against the party of his brother: Gregory, willingly embracing this opportunity of gratifying his ambition, together with the letter sent his nuncios into Russia, to strengthen the party of the king, and to receive his submission.

A conspiracy formed against the pope.

Not long after he was attacked in Rome, by means of Guibert, or Gilbert, archbishop of Ravenna, who, being desirous of the pontificate, had continued in the city after the dismission of the council, and had entered into a conspiracy against the pope, with one Cincius, prefect of the city, a man of great wealth, but excommunicated on account of his profligate life[l]. Cincius, having a great many troops always at his command, on Christmas-eve seized the pope, while he was celebrating mass in the church of St. Mary Major, and, stripping him of his pontifical robes, dragged him from thence, and shut him up in a strong tower. He met with no opposition in committing this violence, as the people had been expressly forbid to assemble in the churches that evening, on account of the heavy rains which had almost rendered the streets impassable; but the news of the pope's being seized spreading through the city, they assembled from all quarters, and being informed where he was detained, they attacked the tower with great violence. Cincius, finding that he should soon be forced to surrender, went and threw himself at Gregory's feet, and having obtained his promise of pardon, set him at liberty, upon which he returned to the church, and finished the service, though greatly wounded in the forehead by a sword which was aimed at his neck. The protection of the pope saved Cincius from the fury of the populace; but, at the following Easter, he and all his accomplices were banished for ever from the city[m]. Gilbert, seeing the bad success of the conspiracy, left Rome, and retired to Ravenna,

Cincius seizes the pope on Christmas-eve;

but is forced to deliver him up next day.

[l] Acta Greg. apud Boll. tom. xvii. p. 148. Lambert. Scafn. ann. 1076. [m] Arnulph. Histor. Mediol. lib. v. cap. 6. Card. Arragon. in Vita Greg. a Pandulph. Pisan. & aliis, apud Murator. tom. iii.

where

where he entered into new designs against the pope, with Theobald, archbishop in Milan, and other bishops of Lombardy.

In the mean time, Gregory having written several sharp letters to the emperor, accusing him of communicating with the excommunicated bishops (B), and of conferring the churches of Fermo and Spoleto on persons unknown to him, at last sent his legates into Germany, citing him to appear at the council of Rome, to answer to the crimes of which he was accused, and threatening him with immediate excommunication, if he neglected to appear [n]. The emperor, highly offended at this citation, dismissed the legates with great contempt; and finding that while Gregory held the pontificate he could not enjoy the empire in peace, he called an assembly of bishops and abbots at Worms, against the 23d of January, in order to depose the pope [o]. The emperor came to Worms on the day appointed with a great many bishops and abbots; the cardinal Hugh, surnamed Candidus, or *White*, having lately entered into the designs of the archbishop of Ravenna, going to the assembly, and accusing the pope of simony, murder, atheism, and many other crimes, the greatest number of the bishops immediately declared, that Hildebrand could be no longer pope, nor have any power to bind or loose. The bishops of Worms and Mentz objected to the justness of this sentence, af-

A.D. 1076.

Gregory cites the emperor to appear before the council of Rome.

The emperor assembles a council at Worms, and deposes Gregory.

[n] Lambert. Scafn. ubi supra. Sigon. ubi supra. [o] See the History of the Empire.

(B) Excommunications in the first ages of the church were used with great reserve, and only for sacred matters; but in the tenth and eleventh centuries they began to be thundered out for the slightest reasons, and to support temporal interests. An excommunicated person was deprived of the society of other Christians, even of his wife children, and servants. He lost the protection of the laws, and all right to his property; likewise those that conversed with him were thereby excommunicated. Their great frequency, at last, obliged the popes to abate of their rigour; and Gregory permitted the wife, children, domestics and vassals of the excommunicated person to converse with him. He likewise allowed others to enter his territories, to buy and sell things necessary for life, and to receive presents from him (1).

(1) Acta Concilii Romæ, anno 1078, apud Baronium.

firming, that it was not right to condemn a person absent, even without witnesses; but being at last brought to give their consent, one Roland was sent to Rome with a copy of the sentence against the pope. Roland made such dispatch, that he arrived at the city the day before the opening of the council, and, appearing next day at the assembly, delivered the letter from the council of Worms.

Gregory excommunicates the emperor.

The pope appeared unconcerned at the sentence of deposition, and, at the next meeting of the assembly, proceeded to excommunicate the emperor, absolving likewise all his subjects in Germany and Italy from their oaths of allegiance (C). The assembly afterwards excommunicated the archbishop of Mentz, and many bishops of Germany, Lombardy, and France, upon various accusations, and drew up several resolutions under the title of Dictatus papæ [P] (D), all tending to ascertain the despotic authority then usurped by the pope.

The Lombard bishops depose the pope.

The bishops of Lombardy, alarmed at the proceedings of the council of Rome, by the advice of Gilbert, archbishop of Ravenna, assembled at Pavia, after Easter, and, in imitation of the council of Worms, deposed Gregory, accusing him of the most horrid crimes. In the mean time, the bishops of Ger-

[P] Greg. lib. ii. Epist. lv.

(C) The popes had long presumed to terminate the differences of princes in an arbitrary manner, threatening them with excommunication if they did not submit to their sentence; which was, indeed, making themselves their superiors and judges in temporal matters; but, before Gregory, no one had ever dared to depose sovereigns.

(D) The following are some of the most remarkable of those resolutions, viz. That the Roman pontiff alone can be called universal. That he alone can depose bishops. That his legates have a right to preside over all bishops at a council. That the pope can depose the absent. That he alone has a right to use imperial ornaments. That princes are bound to kiss his feet alone. That he has a right to depose emperors. That no synod or council without his commission can be called general. That no book can be reckoned canonical without his authority. That his sentence can be annulled by none; but that he may annul the decrees of all. That the Roman church has never erred, nor ever will err. That he is not a catholic that dissents from the Roman church. That subjects may be absolved from their allegiance to wicked princes (1).

(1) Greg. lib. ii. Epist. lv.

many,

many, repenting of what they had done at Worms, ſent to the pope, acknowleging their error, and begging abſolution of the cenſures they had incurred. Gregory, after ſome difficulties, was reconciled to them, and wrote general letters to all the biſhops, nobles, and people in the empire, exhorting them to defend the Roman church, and juſtifying his ſentence againſt the emperor [q].

The biſhops and nobles of Germany deſert the emperor,

The German biſhops having thus gone over to the party of the pope. Henry ſoon found himſelf deſerted by the greateſt part of his ſubjects, many of the nobles finding their perſonal intereſt in depriving him of his crown, and others being piqued at diſappointments in their ambitious views. Having received a ſecond letter from the pope, exhorting them to prevail with the emperor to obey the apoſtolic ſee, and, in caſe of his refuſal, to elect another, they aſſembled at Tribur, on the 16th of October, in order to reſtore the peace of the empire. Gregory having ſent two legates to be preſent at the aſſembly, which was almoſt wholly compoſed of malcontents, the errors of the emperor's former life were recapitulated, and it was propoſed, as the only means of ſaving the empire, to elect another prince, capable and willing to reform all abuſes. In the mean time, Henry, with thoſe of his party, came to Oppenheim, on the oppoſite ſide of the Rhine, and, being informed of the diſpoſition of the diet, ſolicited the nobles, by frequent embaſſies, not to deprive him of his crown, promiſing any ſecurity for his future conduct. The nobles, at firſt, inſtead of favouring him, propoſed to paſs the Rhine, and attack his army; but on the laſt day of the diet the Suabians and Saxons ſent ambaſſadors to him, informing him, that they had determined to leave the whole affair to the determination of the pope, in the preſence of a general diet, to be held at Augſburg on the 2d of February: that, in the mean time, he ſhould diſmiſs all the excommunicated perſons from his preſence, diſband his army, and retire to Spire, as a private perſon; but if he was not abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication before the twelve months were expired, they would, without any more regard to him, chuſe another emperor. Henry, who was on the point of loſing his kingdom, made do difficulty of accepting the conditions; but ſoon after reflecting, that if he truſted his cauſe to the diet of Augſburg, the year might expire before he was abſolved from the excommu-

and ſubmit his cauſe to the determination of the pope.

[q] Greg. lib. iv. Epiſt. i.

nication; he therefore left Spire, with the empress and his young son, attended with very few servants, designing to go for Italy, and, if possible, to obtain absolution from the pope[r]. Gregory had, at this time, set out from Rome on his journey to Augsburg, attended by the countess Mathilda, who, by the death of her mother Beatrice, had, this year, succeeded to vast possessions in Italy[s], and, from her aversion to the emperor, and opinion of the sanctity of the pope, had put herself wholly under his direction, so that they were accused by their enemies of a criminal intercourse.

Gregory confers the title of king on the duke of Dalmatia.

By his success in deposing the emperor, Gregory had greatly raised the reputation and authority of the holy see: at the desire of the duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, who offered to hold his dominions of St. Peter, he sent two legates into that country, who, having received the submission of the duke, gave him the investiture of his dominions, and conferred upon him the title of king[t]. Gregory likewise received an embassy from Roger, count of Sicily, who, having conquered almost all that kingdom, sent to the pope, desiring his blessing, the pardon of his sins, and the title of son of the church; all which he obtained, on condition of performing a certain penance, and abstaining from any communication with his brother Robert, duke of Apulia[u], who was then excommunicated. In the course of this year, an embassy arrived at Rome, from Anzir, king of Mauritania or Morocco, who sent all the Christian captives in his dominions to the pope, desiring him to consecrate one Servandus, who had been chosen bishop of Hippo or Bona.

A.D. 1077. In the mean time the emperor, having celebrated his Christmas at Besançon, pursued his journey, though in the middle of a very severe winter, and having, by the help of guides, passed Mount Cenis, arrived in Italy with a very few attendants. Upon the news of his arrival in that kingdom, he was immediately joined by Theobald and Gilbert, and the other bishops of Lombardy; and it being reported that he was come with a design to depose the pope, the counts joined him with their forces, so that in a few days he found himself at the head of a considerable army. Gregory, who had proceeded on his journey to Augsburg as far as Trento, hearing that the king was come into Italy, and was marching towards him with an

The emperor arrives in Italy, and is joined by the bishops and nobles of Lombardy.

The pope retires to Canosa.

[r] Lambert. Scafn. ubi supra. Sigon. lib. ix. p. 220. Card. Aragon. in Vita Greg. [s] Donizo in Vita Matild. [t] Baron. Annal. ad. ann. 1076. [u] Greg. lib. iii. Epist. xi.

army,

army, immediately suspecting some hostile intention, returned with Mathilda to the castle of Canosa. But he was soon undeceived by the excommunicated bishops from Germany, who having likewise passed the Alps, came barefooted to Canosa, begging absolution, which, after some rigorous penances, was granted to them, on condition of not communicating with Henry, till he had satisfied the holy see. In the mean time, Henry having obtained a conference with the countess Mathilda, prevailed with her to intercede for him with the pope, and upon her return sent along with her several of the chief nobles of Italy, whom he believed had influence with his holiness. Gregory resisted the importunities of Mathilda and the nobles a long time; at last he said, "If Henry is truly penitent, let him deliver up his crown and the other ensigns of his royalty, and declare himself unworthy to possess them." This sentence appearing too hard, he was at last prevailed with to allow him to come to Canosa.

Henry accordingly leaving his army at Vercelli, appeared before the castle with a few attendants [w], and being admitted alone within the outermost of the three walls that surrounded the fort, he stood there barefooted, in a very rigorous season, for three whole days, waiting the sentence of the pope. On the fourth day, being the 25th of January, Gregory admitted him to his presence, and after much discourse promised to absolve him, on condition that he answered to the accusation of the nobles of Germany in a general diet, and till then should use no imperial ornaments, or assume any part in the administration of government; that he should for ever renounce the society of those who had been his advisers in his former mal-administration; that he should continue always obedient to the Roman see; and that if he ever failed in these engagements, his absolution should be of no effect. Henry willingly agreed to these propositions, upon which he received absolution from the pope, who afterwards communicated with him, and, having entertained him at dinner, dismissed him to his friends, who waited for him without the walls [x]. Gregory immediately wrote to the bishops and nobles in Germany, acquainting them with what he had done; and continuing some months longer in Canosa, received a grant of all the possessions of Mathilda for the use of the church [y], to the

Henry is absolved by the pope.

Mathilda gives all her possessions to the holy see.

[w] Blond. dec. ii. lib. 3. Sigon. lib. ix. p. 223. Chron. Cass. lib. iii. cap. 49.

[x] Lambert. ubi supra. Donizo in Vita Matild. cap. 48.

[y] Leo Ost. lib. iii.

prejudice of the empire, to which they ought to have fallen upon her deceaſe.

The Italians are offended with the emperor.

The emperor, by this ſubmiſſion to the pope, quite alienated the minds of the Italian biſhops and nobles, who exclaimed againſt him for ſubmitting to a perſon who had been juſtly excommunicated by all the biſhops of Italy for ſimony, murder, adultery, and other crimes; and as the emperor had deſerted them, they reſolved to depoſe him, and, after chuſing another pope, to crown his ſon Conrad. Henry with great difficulty appeaſed the ſedition, by pleading the neceſſity of his affairs, which compelled him to that ſubmiſſion. Being determined at any rate to regain the affection of the Lombards, he publicly broke the treaty that he had made with the pope, and continued for ſome time near Canoſa, with the deſign of ſeizing him and Mathilda [z]; but they being informed of his purpoſe, and continuing within the fortreſs, he went to Pavia, where he was joined by the excommunicated biſhops of Germany, and by many Italian nobles, who had forſaken him upon the news of his ſubmiſſion. In the mean time the nobles of Germany, aſſembling at Forcheim, cited Henry to plead his cauſe, and, upon his not appearing, depoſed him from the empire, and choſe Rodolphus, duke of Suabia, whom they crowned at Mentz on the 20th of March. This ſtep of the Germans not only alarmed the emperor, but greatly diſturbed the pope; who, having received a letter from Rodolphus, informing him of his election, and promiſing obedience to the holy ſee, was greatly embarraſſed what courſe to take. He durſt not abſolutely declare againſt Henry, who was very powerful in Italy; and to abandon Rodolphus would have been ruining his own party in Germany. In the midſt of this uncertainty he publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, wherein he declared, that Rodolphus had been elected without his orders; and that if the biſhops did not give a ſufficient reaſon for their conduct, they ſhould be deprived of their dignities, and Rodolphus depoſed. At the ſame time he refuſed the requeſt of the ambaſſadors of Henry, who ſolicited his aſſiſtance againſt Rodolphus; and he ordered his legates in Germany to confirm in the royal dignity, that king who ſhould be moſt obedient to the holy ſee [a]. This wavering behaviour of the pope was greatly blamed by the

Henry is reconciled to the Italians.

He is depoſed by the Germans, who give the empire to Rodolphus.

[z] Donizo in Vita Matild. Blond. dec. ii. lib. iii. [a] Greg. lib. iv. Epiſt. xxiii.

nobles

nobles of Germany, who wrote to him, declaring their surprize that he still continued to name two kings of Germany, and did not openly oppose the enemy of the church.

Henry opposes Rodolphus.

In the mean time, Henry, being disappointed in his expectations of assistance from the pope against Rodolphus, had returned to Germany, to oppose his competitor by arms; whereby he again lost the affections of the Italians, who finding themselves in a manner without a king, began to acknowlege the pope, and claim an independency, which was afterwards maintained by many of their cities [b]. After the departure of Henry, Gregory returned to Rome; but before he arrived at the city, he sent three legates into Britain, to regulate the church affairs in that kingdom; and ordered them to call a synod at Langres in France, in which assembly a decree was made against lay investitures [c]. Soon after he sent a legate to the Venetians, to absolve them from the sentence they had incurred by communicating with excommunicated persons. He likewise sent two legates into Spain, with letters addressed to all the kings, princes, and counts in that kingdom, reminding them of the rights of St. Peter in those provinces before the conquests of the Saracens. Upon his return to the city, he sent Landulphus bishop of Pisa, as his legate, into Corsica, with a letter addressed to all the inhabitants, informing them that their island belonged to no sovereign on earth, but was the property of the Roman church; and having thanked them for their ready submission to the holy see, he offered them the assistance of some troops in Tuscany, if they had occasion for such a reinforcement.

Gregory sends legates into Britain and other kingdoms.

In the following year, he appointed a synod to be held at Rome, to which he cited Gilbert, archbishop of Ravenna, with all his suffragans, and the bishops and abbots of Lombardy, and of the March of Ancona and Camerino. They neglecting to appear, the synod proceeded to excommunicate and depose Gilbert, archbishop of Ravenna, and Theobald, archbishop of Milan. Arnulphus, bishop of Cremona, and Roland, bishop of Treviso, were likewise deposed and excommunicated; the one for simony, and the other for promoting the schism betwixt the emperor and the church: the same sentence was fulminated against cardinal Hugh, who was for ever rendered incapable of any priestly office in the church. The synod

A.D. 1078.

He calls a synod at Rome.

Cardinal Hugh and many bishops are deposed

[b] Sigon. lib. ix. p. 225. [c] Greg. lib. iv. Epist. xvi.—xx.

likewise

likewise excommunicated all the Normans who should invade the territory of St. Peter, and those who were besieging Benevento, and suspended all those bishops who, having received a citation, did not appear at the synod, or send a canonical excuse. The ordinations conferred by excommunicated persons were declared null and of no effect; and those who were bound by allegiance, or engaged by an oath to excommunicated persons, were absolved from all obligation; those likewise who plundered such as suffering by shipwreck, or who detained any of their effects, were also excommunicated [d]. The council being dismissed, Gregory wrote to the bishops and nobles of Germany, exhorting them to hold a diet, to terminate the dispute betwixt Henry and Rodolphus, for which purpose he sent his legates into Germany [e]. The two parties, after some hostilities, agreed to a suspension of arms, and sent their ambassadors to the council held at Rome in the month of November [f]. The council referred the determination of the dispute to the legates in Germany: and taking an oath from the ambassadors that neither party should interrupt the proceedings of the legates, they afterwards excommunicated Nicephorus, emperor of Constantinople, who, the year before, had usurped the throne, and confined the emperor Michael with his wife and son in a monastery. The Normans having lately made an attempt upon the monastery of Monte Cassino, were threatened with excommunication, if they should invade the territories of St. Benedict. The decree was likewise renewed against lay investitures: Gilbert, archbishop of Ravenna, still refusing to submit to the council, was at last deposed. Gregory wrote to the people, informing them of the sentence against him, and forbidding them, under pain of excommunication, from yielding any obedience to that prelate. He likewise wrote to the kings of Denmark and Norway, inviting them to send their young nobility to Rome, to be instructed in the truths of the Christian religion.

Henry and Rodolphus agree to a suspension of arms.

The emperor Nicephorus is excommunicated.

Next year he called another council at Rome, in the month of February: at this assembly appeared Berengarius, priest of Tours, then eighty years of age, and publicly abjured the opinion which he had for many years maintained concerning the eucharist, namely, that the bread and wine after consecration continued the same,

A.D. 1079.

Berengarius abjures his heresy.

[d] Acta Concilii apud Baron. ad ann. 1078. [e] Greg. lib. v. Epist. xv. [f] See the History of the Empire.

and

and were only a substantial figure of the body and blood of Christ. Ambassadors from Henry and Rodolphus were likewise present at the council, and swore, in the name of their masters, to submit to the determination of the legates of the pope. In the same assembly the archbishop of Narbonne, and Theobald, archbishop of Milan, Sigefrid, bishop of Bologna, and Roland, of Treviso, were excommunicated, without hope of absolution, with all their followers, whether clergy or laity. The council being dismissed, Gregory sent his legates into Germany, with the patriarch of Aquileia, to assist at the diet of Ratisbon, in order to re-establish the tranquility of the empire. But the methods they proposed being contrary to the dignity and prerogatives of the emperor, Henry refused to agree to them, and again had recourse to arms. In the mean time, Gregory wrote to the bishop of Girona, in Spain, desiring him to reconcile the two sons of the king with their father Berengarius, and threatening them with excommunication if they continued rebellious. He likewise sent a letter to Ladislaus king of Hungary, commending him for his attachment to the holy see, and desiring him to recall the nobles that had been banished on account of the late troubles in that kingdom.

Gregory threatens the king of England with excommunication.

Soon after he wrote to Hubert, his legate in England, to remonstrate to the king against his order for prohibiting the bishops to go to Rome, and to threaten him with excommunication if he refused to grant liberty to two bishops, out of each archbishoprick, to come to Rome to the council [g]. It appears from Gregory's letters in the following year to the same king, that he had agreed to the demand of the pope, and had sent ambassadors to Rome [h]: but that he did not entirely satisfy the ambitious desires of Gregory, is evident from a letter of his to the pope, and from one expression in a letter from the pope to Hubert. William, in the letter to Gregory, refused to pay homage to the see of Rome, affirming, that it never had been done by any of his predecessors; but as to the arrears of the tax of St. Peter's pence, he promised that they should be faithfully transmitted by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury [i]. Gregory wrote to Hubert, that he set no value upon the money without the submission [k]. This same year he likewise claimed to be arbiter between the king of Dalmatia and duke Wezelin, and wrote to the duke, that if

[g] Greg. lib. vi. Epist. i. Guliel. apud Baron. [h] Id. lib. vii. Epist. xxv. [i] Epist. [k] Greg. lib. ix. Epist. i.

he

he did not either ceaſe hoſtilities, or refer the diſpute to the deciſion of the holy ſee, he ſhould be excommunicated. Soon after, hearing that Staniſlaus, biſhop of Cracow, had been murdered in the church while he was ſaying maſs, by the connivance of the king, Gregory excommunicated Boleſlaus, abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance, and declared the ſons of thoſe who had been concerned in the murder incapable of enjoying any eccleſiaſtical preferments to the fourth generation.

He excommunicates the king of Poland.

A.D. 1080. In the beginning of the following year he wrote to Wratiſlaus, duke of Bohemia, reproving him for communicating with excommunicated perſons, but refuſed to grant him his requeſt of performing divine ſervice in the Sclavonic tongue, although he owned that the primitive church had allowed divine worſhip to be performed in the vulgar tongues[l]. The council ſoon after aſſembling at Rome, confirmed the former decrees concerning inveſtitures, and the ſentences of excommunication againſt the Normans and the archbiſhops of Milan and Ravenna, with the other excommunicated biſhops. They likewiſe ordained, that a profeſſion of penitence for any crime, without a real information, ſhould not entitle the criminal to abſolution. With regard to the ſucceſſion to churches, they decreed, that upon the deceaſe of any paſtor, the clergy and people ſhould aſſemble, and, without any ſecular favour, chuſe a ſucceſſor, who ſhould be approved of by the apoſtolic ſee or metropolitan. Before the council broke up, Gregory cauſed Henry to be again excommunicated, having been informed of a victory that Rodolphus had obtained over him in the end of January. Before this defeat Gregory had acted with great caution towards both the competitors, exhorting them to refer their differences to the determination of a diet in the preſence of his legates: he had even been ſuſpected of privately favouring Henry; but now, believing his affairs quite ruined, he took upon himſelf to decide the right of the competitors; and, having depoſed Henry, and condemned him never to be ſucceſsful in war, he gave the kingdom of Germany to Rodolphus, and granted the abſolution of their ſins to all who ſhould aſſiſt him[m]. Beſides, to ſtrengthen his right, he ſent him a crown of gold, on which the following arrogant verſe was engraved. "Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho." Henry, exaſperated at this behaviour of the pope, called a council of thirty biſhops and many

He refuſes to allow the Bohemians to worſhip in the vulgar tongue.

The pope ſends a crown to Rodolphus.

[l] Greg. lib. vii. Epiſt. xi.

[m] Acta Concilii apud Baron.

many nobles of Germany and Italy, at Brixen in Tyrol, which assembly deposed Gregory, and chose Gilbert, or, according to some, Vuigbert, archbishop of Ravenna, pope, by the name of Clement III. Henry, after having assisted at this assembly, returned to Germany, while the new pope continued in Italy, to strengthen the emperor's interest in that kingdom [n]. *Gregory is deposed.*

In the mean time Gregory, considering that his difference with the emperor was now to be decided by force and not by negociation, was reconciled to the Normans, whom he had excommunicated. He condescended to give the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, to Robert, allowing him to retain Salerno, Amalphi, and part of the March of Fermo, though at the same time he declared that they were unjustly seized; his arbitrary disposition being obliged to submit to the necessity of his affairs [o]. He proposed immediately to make use of the assistance of the Normans; and having recommended to duke Robert to assist the emperor Michael, who had come into Italy to implore the aid of the pope against Nicephorus, he published a letter, threatening to invade Ravenna, the residence of the anti-pope, by the assistance of Jordanus, prince of Capua. But, postponing this expedition, he wrote to all the faithful in Germany, exhorting them to assist Rodolphus, and declaring, in a prophetic style, that a false king would soon be cut off, and the enemies of the Roman church would perish [p]. He likewise wrote to William, king of England, desiring his assistance against the enemies of the church; but that king, though he was also solicited by the other party, refused to declare himself absolutely for either. Gregory soon after sent a legate into Spain, to justify his character to Alphonsus, and to threaten him with excommunication if he did not reject the Gothic office and receive the Roman. It appears from a letter of Gregory, written the following year to Alphonsus, that that prince was obedient to the holy see. In the mean time Henry, having assembled his troops, marched against Rodolphus, and, a few days after the arrival of the pope's letter, the two armies engaging near Mersburg, Rodolphus was entirely defeated, and mortally wounded in the action [q]. Gregory at this time received an embassy from the patriarch of Armenia. In the letter that he wrote to that bishop, he commended him for using un- *He is reciled to the Normans.* *Rodolphus is defeated and slain.*

[n] Guil. Biblioth. in Vita Greg. [o] Greg. lib. viii. post Epist. i.
[p] Id. lib. viii. Epist. ix. [q] See the History of the Empire.

leavened

leavened bread in the eucharist, but blamed him for not mixing water with the wine, and for using butter instead of balsam in what is called the sacrament of unction [r]. Soon after he sent his legate into France, to preside at the council of Lyons, in which the archbishop of Rheims was deposed for his disobedience to the apostolic see; in consequence of which sentence the pope wrote to the king of France, desiring him to refuse his protection to the archbishop, and commanding him not to interfere with the election of his successor.

A.D. 1081. In the beginning of the following year the council, as usual, assembled at Rome, and confirmed the sentence of deposition against the archbishops of Arles and Narbonne, and the sentences of excommunication denounced by the legates. The emperor Henry, and the anti-pope Clement, were again excommunicated, with all their adherents; and some bishops were suspended, who had neglected to appear at the council, either personally or by their nuncios. During the sitting of the council Gregory wrote to the bishop of Mentz, confuting what he called the new heresy, that had appeared in Germany; many of the nobles and bishops in that kingdom denying that the pope had a power to depose kings: Gregory's chief argument rested upon the commission given by Jesus Christ to Peter, to bind and loose; after reasoning upon which, he subjoined some extracts from those fathers who were of the same opinion with himself [s]. He wrote likewise to the bishop of Padua, his legate in Germany, informing him, that he was urged by his friends to be reconciled to Henry, who threatened to invade Italy with an army. He pretended not to fear him on his own account, but, at the same time, pressed the legate to send German auxiliaries to join the army of Mathilda, that was assembled in Lombardy, lest that princess should be obliged to submit to the emperor.

The emperor is again excommunicated.

He defeats the troops of Mathilda.

In the mean time Henry, having left an army in Saxony, under the command of his son-in-law, Frederick Stauffen, marched with another army into Italy, and, having obliged the troops of Mathilda to retire, arrived at Verona about the beginning of April. Having granted the liberty of a standard, or carrocia, to the cities of Padua and Cremona [t] for their fidelity, he continued his march through Tuscany, and reduced the city of Florence,

[r] Greg. lib. viii. Epist. i. [s] Ibid. Epist. xxi. [t] Sigon. lib. ix. p. 227.

which

which ventured to shut its gates against him. While the emperor continued in those parts, Gregory being informed by the countess of Mathilda, that Henry had entered into a negociation with Robert the Norman, whereby it was proposed that the emperor's son should marry the duke's daughter, and that Robert should receive from Henry the investiture of the March of Fermo, he wrote to Desiderius, abbot of Cassino, desiring him to inform himself of the truth of that report, and to hasten to Rome [u]. He likewise wrote to France for the arrears of the tax of St. Peter in that kingdom; and published a circular letter, addressed to all the faithful, exhorting them to rise up in defence of the persecuted church [w]. The emperor, soon after, arriving at Rome, accompanied with the anti-pope Clement, encamped in the meadows of Nero, expecting to be admitted into the city: but the place being strongly garrisoned by the soldiers of Mathilda, he was obliged to abandon the siege, and marched with his army to Ravenna [x]. During these disturbances Gregory wrote a very severe letter to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, threatening him with suspension, if he neglected any longer to visit Rome; he likewise excommunicated Jordanus, prince of Capua, who, notwithstanding his oath of allegiance to the apostolic see, had openly espoused the cause of the emperor. It appears from the pope's letter to the kings of the Visigoths, that this year they again allowed the Christian religion to be preached amongst them. Bertrand, count of Provence, came this year to Gregory, and having taken an oath of fidelity to him, afterwards surrendered all his possessions to the holy see, for the remission of his own sins and those of his forefathers [y].

He besieges Rome.

The prince of Capua is excommunicated.

In the course of the following year Gregory was prevented from holding the synod at Rome by the emperor, who returned with his army, and besieged the city during the time of Lent. After Easter Henry set fire to some houses near St. Peter's church, with design to assault the city during the confusion occasioned by the flames; but being disappointed by the vigilance of the pope, he turned the siege into a kind of blockade, by putting garrisons into the castles round Rome; and leaving the command to the anti-pope, he went himself to Lombardy, hearing that Herman, whom the Saxons had chosen king, was

A.D. 1082.

The emperor renews the siege of Rome.

[u] Greg. lib. ix. Epist. xii. [w] Greg. lib. viii. Epist. xxv. & lib. ix. Epist. xxi. [x] Sigon. lib. ix. p. 228. Blond. dec. ii. lib. iii. [y] Baronii Annal. ad hunc annum.

marching

marching towards Italy to the relief of Gregory. Herman having been defeated in paſſing through Suabia, Henry returned to Rome, and, in the beginning of the ſpring, renewed the ſiege; at the ſame time offering to enter into a negociation with Gregory, and promiſing ſafe-conducts to the members of a general council to meet at Rome in the middle of November. Henry, by this time, had gained a great party among the Romans by his money; but the pope ſtill continuing inflexible, and requiring an
A.D. 1083. unreaſonable ſubmiſſion, he ordered an aſſault to be given, and made himſelf maſter of the Leonine city and the Capitol.

The pope immediately retired to the caſtle of St. Angelo, which Henry prepared to attack; but his army being ſeized with an epidemical ſickneſs, he retired with the greateſt part of it to the mountains. In the mean time, having prevailed with the Romans to favour his cauſe, they inſiſted that Gregory ſhould either crown the emperor, or they would elect another pope. Gregory conſented, in ſome meaſure to an accommodation, and a council aſſembled in the month of November; but Henry by no means agreeing to their reſolutions, Gregory propoſed to excommunicate him by name. The council interceded againſt the denouncing of this ſentence; but as Henry had intercepted ſeveral biſhops in their journey to Rome, Gregory excommunicated all thoſe who had prevented any biſhops from coming to the council. The Romans ſtill inſiſting that they had promiſed by oath to procure the imperial crown to Henry, the pope offered to let it down to him by a rope from the caſtle of St. Angelo; but the emperor diſdaining to accept of it in that manner, the Romans declared they were abſolved from their oath, and continued for ſome time ſatisfied with the proceedings of the pope.

A.D. 1084. Next year, the emperor having got poſſeſſion of the Lateran palace, cauſed Guibert to be conſecrated by the biſhops of Modena and Rimini, and the Sunday after, being Eaſter, he was crowned by him in the Lateran church[z]. During the feſtivities of that week he made himſelf maſter of St. Peter's church; but not being able to get poſſeſſion of St. Angelo, he fortified himſelf in the Aventine mount. The pope being ſoon reduced to great difficulties, again ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the Normans. Henry being informed of their march, quitted Rome, and retired

The emperor makes himſelf maſter of Rome.

[z] Berthold. Hiſt. Sigon. lib. ix. p. 228.

with

with his army towards Lombardy, leaving the greateſt part of the Romans in his intereſt, who now blamed the pope for all the miſeries they had ſuffered theſe three years. Robert, upon his arrival, finding the gates of the city ſhut againſt him, ſet fire to ſome houſes near the walls, and, during the confuſion of the Romans, was admitted into the city by the friends of Gregory [a]. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes in the ſtreets he got poſſeſſion of the Capitol, from whence he marched to the caſtle of St. Angelo, and, having deſtroyed the works raiſed by Henry, brought the pope ſafe to the palace of the Lateran. Gregory ſoon after held a council, and excommunicated Henry and the anti-pope, with all their adherents, and ordered the ſentence to be publiſhed by his legates in Germany and France; but as the greateſt part of the citizens were diſcontented with his government, and the imperial army ſtill continued in the neighbourhood of Rome, he left the city, and retired to Monte Caſſino, from whence, in a few days, he went to Salerno, where he continued till his death. The Romans, upon his departure, immediately recalled the emperor, who, after having received their oaths of fidelity, left Clement with a ſtrong garriſon in Rome, and returned with the reſt of his army to Germany [b]. After his return the Lombards aſſembled an army, and attacked the counteſs Mathilda; but the pope ſending the biſhop of Lucca as his legate, with full power of abſolving all thoſe that ſhould return to the church, and with indulgencies to thoſe who were zealous in its defence, Mathilda ſoon grew too powerful for her enemies. Having defeated them in an engagement, and taken the biſhop of Parma with ſeveral nobles priſoners, ſhe obliged them to continue quiet [c].

Gregory retires to Salerno.

While Gregory continued at Salerno, he wrote to William, king of England, interceding for his brother Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, whom that prince had thrown into priſon on account of his mal-adminiſtration and tyranny in England, while he himſelf was abſent in Normandy. The pope did not ſucceed with the king of England; however, this year he prevailed with Robert, count of Flanders to pardon ſeveral of his nobles, who had entered into a conſpiracy againſt him. In the mean time the German garriſon, which had been left in Rome, being almoſt entirely

He writes to William, king of England to be reconciled to his brother.

[a] Leo Oſt. lib. iii. cap. 52. [b] Sigon. lib. ix. p. 229. [c] Acta Anſelm. apud Baron.

cut off by a malignant distemper, the Romans expelled Clement, rejecting both him and Gregory.

A.D. 1085. Soon after the emperor's return to Germany an assembly met at Quedlemburg, in the presence of Herman, the competitor for the empire, and Otho, the legate of the pope. The bishops and clergy who were present being wholly in the interest of Gregory, several decrees were made, tending to exalt the power of the holy see; and, having excommunicated the anti-pope, and several other bishops, with lighted candles, they made several regulations with regard to the church. They ordained, that no layman should touch sacred vessels; that presbyters, deacons, and sub-deacons, should continue in celibacy; that no layman should usurp the property of tythes; that during Lent no one should eat eggs or cheese, &c. In opposition to this council Henry called a diet and synod at Mentz, in which Gregory was deposed, the election of Gilbert confirmed, and the bishops of the other party excommunicated. A few weeks after the celebrating of those councils in Germany, Gregory died at Salerno, on the 24th of May, having, three days before his death, desired the cardinals and bishops who were present, to elect, as his successor, Desiderius, abbot of Cassino, or Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, or either of the bishops of Lucca and Ostia.

The German bishops excommunicate the anti-pope.

Gregory dies at Salerno.

Immediately upon the death of Gregory the cardinals and bishops proposed to elect Desiderius, but he refused to accept the papacy, and returned to his monastery; at the same time writing to the Normans and Lombards, exhorting them to submit to the church, and to reject all communication with the anti-pope, who was then endeavouring to strengthen his party. Upon the departure of Desiderius, the bishops consulted with Jordanus, prince of Capua, in order to entice the abbot to Rome, and to compel him to accept of the dignity. The excessive heats being abated, Jordanus set out for Rome with an army, attended by Desiderius, with the other cardinals and bishops. When they arrived at Campania, Desiderius suspecting their design, refused to go any farther, unless they promised not to use compulsion with him with regard to the election; and, upon their denying his request, he returned to his monastery, so that the election was deferred till the year following.

Desiderius is chosen pope, by the name of Victor III.

About Easter, many cardinals and bishops assembling at Rome, wrote to Desiderius to come to them, with the bishops that were in those parts, to consult about settling the

the church. Upon the arrival of Desiderius, they renewed their intreaties with him to accept of the pontificate; but he obstinately denying for two days, they at last took him by force, and carried him to the church of St. Lucia, where he was unanimously elected, and acquired the name of Victor III. though he struggled during the whole ceremony, that he might not be clothed in the pontifical dress [d]; and, soon after, laying aside his ornaments, he returned to Cassino.

He goes to Rome.

In the following year, being present at the council held at Capua during Lent, at the intreaty of the bishops, he re-assumed the pontifical habit; and, after Easter, he went to Rome with the princes of Capua and Apulia. The Capuans having expelled the other faction from the church of St Peter, Victor was consecrated by the bishops of Ostia, Albano, and Porta, according to the canons, in the presence of a great many cardinals, bishops, and abbots. Eight days after his consecration, he returned to the monastery of Cassino; but the countess Mathilda coming to Rome to have a conference with him, he returned by sea, and soon after, by the assistance of her troops, made himself master of all that part of the city beyond the Tyber. On the eve of the feast of St. Peter, the Romans, in the interest of the anti-pope, recovered a great part of the city, and made an attempt to get possession of the church of St. Peter, but were repulsed by the soldiers of Mathilda. That countess soon after returning to Lombardy, Clement, only countenanced and supported by the Imperialists, expelled the bishops from several churches, who were suspected to incline to Victor, and substituted others in their room, who procured that dignity from him by their money [e].

A D. 1087.

In the mean time Victor, desiring to repress the insolence of the Saracens, who made frequent descents upon the coasts of Italy, and carried off a great many captives, he held a council with the bishops and cardinals, and by their advice assembled an army from all parts of Italy, which he sent over into Africa against the infidels, giving them the standard of St Peter, and remission of all their sins. The Italians were very successful in their expedition; for, after defeating one hundred thousand of the enemy, they made themselves masters of their principal

He sends an army into Africa against the Saracens.

[d] Leo Ost. lib. iii. cap. 65—67. Vita Victor. III. apud Murator. tom. iii. [e] Leo Ost. lib. iii. cap. 69.

city, and, what is remarkable, the victory was told in Italy the same day that it was obtained in Africa [f].

He holds a council at Benevento.

In the month of August, Victor went to Benevento, to hold a council with the bishops of Apulia and Calabria: after mentioning the intrusion of Clement, he pronounced a sentence of deposition and excommunication against him; but nothing particular was determined with regard to the emperor. The assembly likewise ordained, that whoever should receive a bishoprick or abbacy from the hand of a lay-man, should not be accounted a bishop or abbot, and should be rejected by the church; and whoever prayed with them, or heard them performing mass, should also be excommunicated; and that if any king, duke, count, or other secular person, should presume to give the investiture of ecclesiastical dignities, he should be comprehended in the same sentence [g]. During the session of the council, Victor being attacked with sickness, he dismissed the assembly, and returned to Monte Cassino, where, after making several regulations with regard to the monastery, he appointed Oderisius, a sub-deacon of the Roman church, for their abbot [h]. His sickness becoming dangerous, he called the bishops and cardinals who had attended him, and taking Otho, bishop of Ostia, by the hand, presented him to the other bishops, and recommended him to them for his successor. He lived three days after this transaction, and died on the 14th of September, not without the suspicion of poison having been given him in the chalice while he was celebrating mass [i].

He returns to Monte Cassino, and dies.

A.D. 1088.

Otho, bishop of Ostia is chosen pope, and takes the name of Urban II.

Upon his death, messengers were immediately sent to the Roman clergy and laity, and likewise to other bishops, desiring them either to come themselves, or send their nuncios to Tarracina, in the first week of Lent, to chuse a successor to the Roman see. Many bishops and abbots assembling at Tarracina, upon the appointed day, they unanimously chose Otho, bishop of Ostia, who being consecrated in the church of St. Peter, in that city, on the 12th of March, took the name of Urban II. Otho was formerly prior of Cluny, and being created bishop of Ostia by Gregory, became the most faithful confidant of that pope; and five years before, as his legate, had published in Germany the sentence of excommunication against the

[f] Sigon. lib. ix. p. 230. Leo Ost. lib. iii. cap. 70. Berthold. Hist. [g] Acta Concilii Benev. apud Baron. [h] Leo Ost. lib. iii. cap. 71. [i] Vita Victor III. ex MSS. Bernard. Guidon apud Murator. tom. iii.

emperor

emperor and his adherents. The day after his consecration, Urban published a letter, addressed to all the faithful, informing them of his election, and declaring, that he would follow in every thing the footsteps of Gregory VII[k]. Going afterwards to Cassino, he was visited by Boemond, and Roger, duke of Apulia, sons of Robert Guiscard, whom he reconciled, by making partition of their father's territories. This year he likewise created the archbishop of Toledo primate of all Spain, at the request of the king, Alphonsus[l], who had distinguished himself against the Saracens. After he had continued some time in Apulia, he went to Rome; but being repulsed by the faction of Clement, he fled into an island of the Tyber, called Lycaonia, where he was supported by some Roman matrons for several months[m].

The archbishop of Toledo is created primate of all Spain.

In the following year he wrote a letter to Gebehard, bishop of Conflans, appointing him his legate and vicar in Germany; and having prevailed with the Romans to expel Gilbert, the anti-pope, he held a synod of one hundred and fifteen bishops at Rome, in which Henry and the anti-pope were excommunicated in the first decree; and in the second decree were included all those who assisted them with arms, money, or counsel, or who received ecclesiastical preferments from them or their adherents[n]. Towards autumn Urban went into Apulia, to recommit to the earth the body of St. Nicolas, which had been brought to Bari; and having consecrated the bishop of that place, he repaired to Traja, where he held a council of seventy-five bishops and twelve abbots[o], in which some decrees were made relating to the degrees of consanguinity prohibited in contracts of marriage. Soon afterwards, hearing that the emperor was proposing to enter Italy, he prevailed with Matilda, then in the forty-third year of her age, to marry Guelph, son of the duke of Bavaria, who had distinguished himself in Germany against the party of Henry[p], and from whom are descended the present dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh[q].

Urban holds a general council at Rome.

Mathilda marries the son of the duke of Bavaria.

The emperor, in order to recover his interest in Italy, marched in the beginning of the following year into that kingdom[r], and upon entering the territories of Malthilda,

The emperor marches into Italy.

[k] Berthold. Hist. ad hunc an. [l] Exemplar. Diplom. apud Baron. [m] Sigon lib. ix. p. 221. [n] Berthold. hoc an. [o] Chron. Cassin. lib. i. cap. 8. [p] Baron Annal. ad hunc an. [q] Sigon. lib. x. p. 231. [r] Sigon. lib. ix. p. 232. Donizo in Vita Matild.

allowed his army to pillage the country. But duke Guelph marching against him, and passing the Po, defeated him in an engagement in the plain of Sorbaria, a check which obliged him for some time to act on the defensive; but soon after his troops resuming their courage, he marched against Mantua, which was then one of the strongest cities of Italy. In the mean time Urban sent his legates into France, who held a general council at Thoulouse, in which several decrees were made with regard to ecclesiastical discipline. He himself went afterwards to Melphis, in Apulia, where he held a general council, and gave Roger, the son of Robert Guiscard, the investiture of his father's duchy, upon his promising to become his liege subject[s]. The canons made by this council chiefly regarded the celibacy of the clergy, which was strictly enjoined; lay investitures were condemned; and a decree was made against pretended penitents, in the number of whom were reckoned those who exercised traffic, or followed the law, it being declared impossible to follow those employments with a safe conscience[t].

A.D. 1091. Urban continuing for some time in Apulia and Campania, the party of the emperor at Rome took that opportunity of recalling Guibert, and making themselves masters of the castle of St. Angelo, which they endeavoured to destroy. In the mean time the emperor reduced Mantua, which, after sustaining a siege of eleven months, was at last obliged to surrender, on the 11th of April, being Good Friday[u]. The Imperialists, having left a garrison in Mantua, marched to Ferrara, which immediately submitted. During these transactions in Lombardy, Urban went to Benevento, where he held a council, and renewed the excommunications against the emperor and the anti-pope; then he returned to the neighbourhood of Rome, where he kept his Christmas, not daring to enter the city, which was occupied by the party of Clement.

His faction recall Clement to Rome.

Eric, king of Denmark comes to Rome, and is absolved.

Having afterwards got possession of a part of the city, he was visited by Eric, king of Denmark, who, upon some false suspicions, had been excommunicated by the archbishop of Hamburgh. The king, struck with the sentence, had appealed to the apostolic see; and having justified himself before Urban, not only was absolved from the sentence, but his kingdom was freed from subjection

[s] Romuald. Salern. Chron. ad hunc an. [t] Acta Concilii apud Baron. [u] Donizo in Vita Mathild.

to

to a foreign archbishop; and the bishop of Lundy was created primate of Denmark, and also of Sweden and Norway[w]. About this time Urban sent for St. Bruno, who six years before had instituted the order of the Carthusians, and kept him with him, though against his inclination, three years, using his advice in the affairs of the church[x]. In the mean time, hostilities still continued in Lombardy betwixt the emperor and Mathilda. The arms of Henry being every where victorious, Mathilda, by the advice of several bishops, proposed to negociate a peace with him; but the conferences were soon broke off by means of one John, a hermit, who advised her to trust for success to the divine Providence. Henry, irritated at this affront, sent one of his sons to besiege Carpineto; but the young prince being killed in an attack, the siege was raised, and Henry returned to Verona, accompanied by Clement, having withdrawn all his forces beyond the Po; upon which Mathilda recovered all that she had lost on the other side of that river[y]. Urban finding the faction of the anti-pope prevailing at Rome, went the following Lent into Apulia, and held a general council at Traja.

Mean while Conrad, the eldest son of the emperor, having received some harsh treatment from his father, rebelled against him, and came over to the party of Mathilda. The countess and duke Guelph received him with great joy; and Urban, thinking the rebellion of a son no crime, immediately absolved him from excommunication; upon which he was crowned king of Italy by Anselmo, archbishop of Milan, and received the allegiance of a great many cities of Lombardy, strengthening his interest likewise by an alliance with the Normans, and marrying the daughter of Roger, count of Sicily. This revolt of Conrad obliged Henry to quit Italy, and retire to the Alps, in expectation of new succours from Germany. The affairs of the Orthodox, as they called themselves, being now in a prosperous condition, Urban returned to Rome, and took possession of the city, the other party being obliged to retire into the castle of St. Angelo. Next year he ordered Gebehard, his legate, to call a general council at Constance, which accordingly assembled; where having made some canons relating to simony, and the celibacy of the clergy, they likewise heard the complaints of

A.D. 1093.

Conrad rebels against his father.

w Sax. Gram. lib. xii. x Baron. Annal. ad. an. 1093.
y Sigon. ubi supra. Berth. Hist. ad hunc ann.

Praxide or Adelaide, against the emperor her husband. Soon after, Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, as pope's legate, called another synod in France, in which king Philip was excommunicated, for having put away his queen, and married another woman during her life-time.

A.D. 1095. *Urban goes to Lombardy and holds a council at Placenza.*

Mean while Urban himself went to Tuscany, where he celebrated his Christmas; and the party of Conrad being now very strong in Lombardy, he proceeded to Placenza, where, about the middle of Lent, he held a general council of the bishops of Italy, France, Germany, and other provinces; the number assembled being so large that no church in that city could contain them, so that they were obliged to hold the council in a field without the walls. It being proved before the council, that the empress, during her imprisonment, had been ravished by several persons, sent in by orders of Henry, she was absolved from all penance, upon her public confession. The council likewise received an embassy from the emperor of Constantinople, and from Philip king of France: the emperor intreated assistance against the Saracens, who had approached almost to the walls of Constantinople; and Philip excused himself from appearing at the council, having been delayed by necessary reasons, after he was on his journey. The council likewise ordained, that no money should be exacted for unctions, baptisms, or burials; and before they broke up, denounced anathemas against the anti-pope, and several different heresies[z]. Having dismissed the council at Placenza, Urban went to Cremona, and on his journey was met by Conrad, who, upon the pope's entering the city, acted as groom, and afterwards took the oath of fidelity to the papal see. The pope received him as a son of the Roman church, and promised to assist him in obtaining the empire, on condition that he renounced all right to give investitures.

[z] Donizo in Vita Mathild. Berthold. Hist.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Containing an Account of the first Crusade: the Deposition and Death of the Emperor Henry IV.

SOON after this transaction, Urban left Italy, and went by sea into France, where, in the beginning of November, he held a general council at Clermont, in Auvergne, famous for the first commencement of the crusade; Urban having some time before received letters from the patriarch of Jerusalem, by Peter the hermit, representing the miserable state of the Christians in those parts, and intreating assistance against the Saracens their oppressors, he made several long and pathetic speeches to the council, exhorting them to encourage the people committed to their charge to undertake the holy warfare, for recovering the sepulchre of Christ from the infidels. The council being moved by the addresses of the pope, made a decree, that whoever, out of devotion, and not for honour and money, went to the relief of the church of Jerusalem, that journey should serve instead of all penance, and during his absence, all his possessions should continue safe. They afterwards excommunicated Philip, king of France, who still refused to put away his concubine; and confirmed the decrees made at the councils of Melphis, Benevento, Traja, and Placenza; they likewise made several new canons, that no clergyman should carry arms; that the sons of clergymen should be incapable of church preferments, unless they became monks; that it should not be lawful for clergymen to have women in their houses; that if any guilty person embraced a cross, either in the church or fields, he should be protected from harm [a].

Urban holds another council at Clermont in France, and proposes a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land.

This year a general council was likewise held in England, by Anselm, bishop of Canterbury, who wanted pope Urban to be acknowleged in that kingdom; but most of the bishops submitting to the edict of the king, which ordained, that no pope should be acknowleged in England but whom the king allowed of, great disputes arose in the assembly; and as it was known that the king favoured Clement, many of the bishops declared, that they would

The king of England favours the anti-pope.

[a] Concil. General. tom. x. p 506. Donizo ubi supra.

not

not yield any obedience to Urban [b]. This year was likewise remarkable for the institution of the Knights Hospitallers, by one Gaston, of the province of Vienne, in France, who, with his son and eight others, began the order [c].

A.D. 1096. After the dismission of the council of Clermont, Urban continued still in France, in order to promote the sacred expedition to the Holy Land. The bishops likewise, upon their return, went round the cities of their dioceses, and shewing the pope's letters, exhorted their people to the holy warfare; but the most active promoter of this expedition was Peter the hermit, who went through France, preaching to the people with great enthusiasm. The number of people who gave in their names for this holy expedition was so immense, that the priests were obliged to dissuade a great many, who, upon account of their age, sex, or weakness, were unfit for warfare; but still there remained behind an army greatly superior in number to any that had ever appeared in Europe. Instead of pay, they received a plenary indulgence for all their sins; and in lieu of an uniform, each wore a cross made of red cloth upon his right shoulder, from whence the expedition got the name of a Crusade.

The crusade is preached with great success.

The first who put themselves on their march were Gualter, or Walter, surnamed Sans Avoir, or Lack-land, and Peter the hermit, who, at the head of about fifty thousand men, directed their route for Germany, where they were joined by Godescald, a monk, with fifteen thousand Germans, armed with clubs. These forces were soon after followed by Godfrey de Bouillon, duke of Lorrain, accompanied by many other dukes and counts, with a great body of troops. In Italy likewise great levies were made for the sacred expedition. The archbishop of Millan assembled fifty thousand Lombards, seven thousand of whom were from the city of Milan; while Boemond, brother of Roger, duke of Sicily, put himself at the head of the Apulians and Calabrians. The Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese, were ready with their fleets, and each city sent out a body of men with a commander and standard, on which was painted a cross; the general device of those engaged in the expedition being Dieu le veut, or, *it is the will of God* [d]. Mean while Urban, having held a general

[b] Guliel. Malmsb. lib. i. Ediner in Vita S. Anselm. apud Surm. tom. ii. [c] Histor. Antonian. Hincmar. Fulconis. [d] Sigon. lib. ix. p. 235. Vit. Pontif. Rom. apud Murator. tom. iii. Willel. Tyr. de Bello Sacro, lib. i. cap. 18. lib. ii. cap. 1.

council

council at Tours, and absolved the king of France, upon his humble submission, returned to Lombardy, and having had a conference with Mathilda, proceeded to Rome, where he celebrated his Christmas; the castle of St. Angelo being still in possession of the Imperialists.

In order to reconcile the Greeks to the crusade, he wrote a letter to Alexius, emperor of Constantinople, informing him of the design of the expedition, which, if it succeeded, would be of great advantage to his empire: he likewise appointed a council to be held at Bari, on the first of October, to which he invited the Greek bishops. In his way towards Bari, he visited Capua, which was then besieged by Roger, count of Apulia, in favour of Richard II. who had been expelled a few years before. The pope endeavoured to mediate a peace, but the Capuans rejecting the terms of accommodation, were, in a few days, obliged to surrender to the count, and to submit to Richard [e]. After the reduction of Capua, the two princes repaired to Salerno, and were soon after visited by the pope, who granted a very large privilege to the count, allowing him, and his son who should succeed him, to act as legates of the apostolic see in Sicily (O).

A.D. 1097.

Urban informs the emperor of Constantinople of the expedition to the Holy Land;

The council assembling according to appointment at Bari, the pope repaired thither, with Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, who having had some difference with the king, had left England. The acts of this council are not extant; but there is mention of a great dispute betwixt the Greek and Latin bishops, concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit; the Greeks affirming, that the Spirit proceeded only from the Father. Their arguments were entirely confuted by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, who, by his eloquence and strength of reasoning, gained great honour in the debate [f]. In the mean time the

and holds a council at Bari, composed of Greek and Latin bishops.

[e] Romuald. Salern. Chron. ad hunc an. Goufred. lib. iv. cap. 27. p. 29. [f] Ediner. in Vita Anselm.

(O) This charter has been the occasion of great disputes betwixt the kings of Sicily and the church of Rome, it being maintained on one side, that, from this time following, the princes of Sicily have had the title of king, and have been hereditary legates of the popes within their own dominions; whereas the advocates of the church affirm, that the charter limits the privilege of legate to Roger, and his immediate successor, and makes no mention of the title of king, which they say was afterwards conferred by an anti-pope.

Croises,

The Croises murder the Jews in Germany.

Croises, who had begun their march to the Holy Land, being without money and without discipline, attacked the rich Jews in Germany, under pretence of zeal for the Christian religion, of which they were the professed soldiers. The cities of Worms, Cologne, Mentz, Triers, and several others, suffered greatly by their outrages. Those Jews who would not consent to be baptized, were massacred, and their possessions seized. In Bavaria alone twelve thousand were put to death, and many thousands in the other provinces of Germany. Coloman, king of Hungary, being informed of these ravages, denied the Croises a passage through his kingdom; but his army being defeated in several encounters, he was at last obliged to consent to their passage. From Hungary they went through Dacia, Mœcia, and Thrace, to Constantinople, in order to be transported into Asia [g].

A.D. 1098.

The bishops and cardinals in the interest of Clement hold a council at Rome.

The pope, after dismissing the council of Bari, returned to Rome, where he called another council a few weeks after Easter. In opposition to this assembly, the bishops and cardinals in the interest of Clement likewise held a council at Rome, in which they composed a letter, addressed to all the faithful, declaring, that they had laboured for sixteen years to destroy the heresies introduced by Hildebrand, and summoning the authors of the schism to appear before them in the synod which they proposed to hold in November [h]. Mean while, news arriving at Rome of the success of the Croises in Asia, Urban sent Theobert, archbishop of Pisa, as his legate to the Christian army, in order to restore the churches in those places that had been taken from the infidels. But before his arrival, Alexius having deserted the party of the Europeans, the Croises were reduced to great difficulties, so that his embassy had no effect, till the army marched towards Syria, when they again met with success.

A.D. 1099.

Urban recovers the castle of St. Angelo, and dies.

The Christians take Jerusalem.

In the following year, which was the last of Urban's life, he held a council at Rome, in which Clement and his adherents were excommunicated, and the faithful again exhorted to go to the assistance of their brethren in Asia. Many Croises giving in their names for the holy expedition, Urban, by their assistance, recovered the castle of St. Angelo, and, having quieted the factions in the city, died on the 27th of July. About the same time, the Croises in Asia, after a siege of six weeks, made themselves masters of Jerusalem by storm. Robert, duke of Nor-

[g] Willel. Malmsf. lib. i. [h] Baronius, ad. an. 1098.

mandy,

mandy, refusing the dignity of king of Jerusalem, Godfrey de Bouillon, duke of Lorrain, was elected, and took the investiture of his new kingdom from Theobert, the pope's legate, who had been chosen patriarch of Jerusalem [i].

After the death of Urban, the clergy and nobles of Rome assembled in the church of St. Clement, to chuse a successor, and immediately pitched upon cardinal Rainier, or Ragnier, abbot of the monastery of St. Lawrence and St. Stephen, without the walls, who observing the disposition of the assembly, fled and hid himself; but being discovered and brought back, was obliged to accept of the dignity, the clergy calling out, pope Paschal is elected by St. Peter. He had no sooner taken possession of the papal chair than he wrote to all the Catholic princes, informing them of his election; and in return received letters from many. The princes in the Holy Land particularly wrote a long letter, addressed to him and all the faithful, giving an account of their sufferings and late successes, and inviting their brethren to come to their assistance [k]. This letter being published in Europe, was the occasion of a second general crusade, the Croises going by sea from Italy. Paschal in the mean time being encouraged by the Roman clergy to act vigorously against the schismatics, and having received one thousand ounces of gold from Roger, count of Sicily, employed that money against the anti-pope, whom he drove from Albano, and obliged to retire to Citta di Castello, where he died the year following [l]. A.D. 1100. *Paschal II. is elected pope.*

The new pope likewise sent two legates into France, who held a general council at Poictiers, in which Philip was again excommunicated, for having relapsed into adultery. The bishop of Porta was also sent as his legate into the Holy Land; soon after whose arrival, Godfrey, king of Jerusalem, died, and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, who was immediately engaged in disputes with the patriarch. The contest between them was concerning the temporalities of the see; Baldwin claimed all the rights of his predecessor; but the patriarch insisted that Godfrey had left Jerusalem and Joppa to the church, in case he died without a male heir. To protect himself against Baldwin, he wrote to Boemond, prince of Antioch, ex- *He sends two legates into France, who excommunicate king Philip.*

[i] Willel. Tyr. de Bell. Sac. lib. viii. cap. 11. [k] Willel. Tyr. lib. iii. cap. 13, 14. [l] Donizo in Vita Mathild. Petr. Diac. in Chron. Cassin. Vit. Pontif. Rom. apud Murator. lib. iii.

citing

citing him to declare war against the king of Jerusalem, as an oppressor of the church [m].

A.D.1101. During these disturbances in the Holy Land, occasioned by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Paschal appointed Gebehard, bishop of Constance, his legate in Germany; and soon after received an embassy from Henry, king of England, who insisted upon giving investitures of benefices, as a right inherent to his crown. But the pope, rendered confident by the success of his predecessors against the emperor, and by the mean submission of the other princes of Europe, denied the request of the ambassadors, and appointed the decrees of Urban with regard to investitures to be observed in England [n]. Ambassadors likewise arrived at Rome from the king of France, petitioning for his absolution from the sentence of excommunication. Paschal did not absolutely refuse the request, but sent two legates into France, to receive the satisfaction of the king, which being given, he was again admitted into the church. In the mean time, the emperor's party in Italy did their utmost to support their sinking interest in that kingdom: upon the death of Guibert, they elected one Albert, a German, who dying four months afterwards, they chose Theodoric, a Lombard. He survived his election little more than three months, and was succeeded by one Maginulph, who was expelled from Ravenna, and died in exile.

He forbids the king of England to meddle with investitures.

A.D.1102. Paschal being now too powerful to be disturbed by the weak efforts of these anti-popes, held a general council at Rome, to which the emperor was invited, and, upon his non-appearance, was again excommunicated. The council likewise composed an oath, which, under the title of a profession of faith, the archbishops, bishops, and all whom the pope required, were obliged to take. By this oath, they abjured all heresy, they promised obedience to the pope and his successors, and to affirm what the holy and universal church affirms, and to condemn what she condemns. This new usurpation of the papal see alarmed several nations in Europe, but chiefly the king of Poland, and the princes of Sicily; and the archbishops of Poland and Palermo refused for some time to take the oath, alleging, that it was not enjoined by any former council. The pope wrote to them both, and insisted, that no council could prescribe a law to the Roman church [o].

A general council held at Rome.

An oath of obedience to the holy see appointed to be taken by all the clergy.

[m] Wil. Tyr. lib. ix. cap. ult. lib. x. cap. 1. [n] Wil. Malms. lib. i. [o] Baron. ad an. 1102.

While

While the pope's authority was called in question in Poland and Sicily, it was confirmed by Anselm in the synod of London, where several decrees were made against lay investitures, and the concubinage of the clergy. His party was likewise strengthened by Otho, bishop of Wamberg, who having received his bishoprick from the emperor, wrote to the pope for his confirmation [p]; and Mathilda having had a difference with her husband this year, renewed the grant of her possessions in favour of the holy see [q]. The proceedings of Anselm having offended the king of England, he ordered him to depart the kingdom, and sent an ambassador to the pope to determine the controversy, declaring, that he would rather lose his kingdom than part with his right to give investitures. Paschal, far from complying with the desire of the king, declared to the ambassador in as peremptory a manner, that he would rather lose his salvation than suffer him to enjoy that right without censure [r]. A.D.1103.

About this time Gallo, bishop of Paris, having come to Rome upon account of some difference with the king of France, Paschal sent him as his legate into Poland, to correct the abuses in that kingdom. He likewise sent cardinal Richard, bishop of Albano, as his legate into France, who held a council at Troyes. In the mean time, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and Boemond, prince of Antioch, arrived in Italy. Boemond proceeded to France, to marry the daughter of Philip; but the patriarch went to Rome, and complained to the pope of the injuries he had received from Baldwin, who had substituted one Ebremarius in his place. He likewise accused the king of having divorced his wife without any formal sentence of the church. Upon hearing these complaints, Paschal detained the patriarch with him, and wrote in his behalf to Jerusalem, desiring those who had any thing to accuse him of, to appear at Rome. At length no accusers having appeared, he was judged innocent by the apostolic see, and restored to his former dignity. A.D.1104. *The pope sends a legate to Poland.*

Mean while a great revolution happened in Germany, the emperor being imprisoned and dethroned by his youngest son Henry, whom a few years before he had associated with himself in the empire. In the beginning of the revolt, Henry wrote a letter to Paschal, proposing an ac- A.D.1105. *The emperor is dethroned by his son Henry.*

[p] Vita Othon. lib. i. cap. iii. [q] Murator, de Reb. Ital. tom. v. [r] Roger. Annal. hoc anno. Willel. de Reg. Angl. lib. v.

commodation

commodation with him, on terms that were consistent with his honour [s]. The pope paid no regard to this letter, persuaded that the emperor's submission proceeded more from the bad state of his affairs, than from the purity of his intentions. Young Henry professing all obedience to the apostolic see, he ordered his legates to absolve him from the sentence of excommunication, and to assist him with their advice. Soon after, in a general diet held at Mentz, Henry, who was then imprisoned by the treachery of his son in the castle of Bingenheim, was excommunicated by the pope's legates; and the assembly having likewise deposed him, young Henry was acknowleged as king, and his former election at Aix la Chapelle confirmed.

The pope's legate refuses to absolve him.

The new emperor, that he might give some appearance of justice to his rebellion, assembled another diet at Ingelheim, where his father is said to have been prevailed upon to make a voluntary resignation of his crown to his son, and to have thrown himself at the feet of the legate, praying to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication; but his request was refused, the legate declaring, that he could only be absolved by the pope, or a general council. The party of the pope being now victorious in Germany, the schismatic bishops, namely, those that had received their investiture from the emperor, were expelled from their sees, and new bishops appointed by the Catholic party. The bodies likewise of those bishops, who had been accused of schism, were ordered to be dug out of their graves, in consequence of which order, the body of Clement the anti-pope was exposed at Ravenna in an ignominious manner, and thrown into the river, his followers having alleged, that a great many miracles had been performed at his tomb [t].

A.D. 1106.

He escapes from his confinement to Liege, and raises an army.

In the mean time the emperor fled from Ingelheim, and retired to Cologne, and from thence to Liege. Being received honourably in this city, he wrote a long letter to the king of France, which he published in form of a manifesto, declaring the injuries he had received, and asking assistance against his rebel son. Many of his friends upon this letter came to Liege, so that in a short time he formed a considerable army, which encouraged his party in Italy again to make some efforts in his favour: accord-

[s] Epist. Henrici apud Urstil. p. 392. Abbas Ursperg.

[t] Baron. Annal.

ingly,

ingly, having raised some troops, and got a part of the Romans to favour them, they took the opportunity of the absence of the pope, and chose an antipope at Rome, under the name of Sylvester, who was soon after expelled by the Catholics. During these transactions in Italy, the young emperor besieged Cologne, which held for his father; but after continuing a month before the place, he was obliged to raise the siege with some loss. Henry at the same time writing to the bishops and lords of the empire, complaining of the injustice that had been done him, and offering to submit to the holy see, a negociation was in some manner agreed to; but while they debated about a prior cessation of hostilities, the emperor died at Liege; and was interred with great pomp by the bishop of that see. For this kindness to the deceased, the bishop was excommunicated, and, as a condition of being absolved, he was ordered to dig up the corpse [u].

He dies soon after, at Liege.

SECT. IV.

Containing the History of the Popes till the Time of the second Crusade.

POPE Paschal having been invited into Germany by the diet at Mentz, was on his journey when he heard of the death of the emperor: upon receiving these tidings, he stopped at Florence to enquire into a prophecy of the immediate coming of antichrist, published by some eminent men in that city. Being convinced of the absurdity of the prophecy, he proceeded to Guastalla, where he held a general council, at which were present the ambassadors of the new emperor, who desired the pope to confirm to their master the privileges belonging to his dignity [w]. Among other decrees, the council ordained, that all the cities in Æmilia, namely, Placenza, Parma, Reggio, Mantua, and Bologna, should no longer be subject to the metropolitan of Ravenna. They likewise prohibited any layman from giving investitures, under pain of excommunication.

Pope Paschal holds a council at Guastalla.

This last decree highly offended the emperor Henry V. who finding himself established in the throne, refused to abate any thing of his right of investitures, or of the man-

[u] Ursperg Abbas hoc anno. p. 748. Donizo in Vita Mathild.

[w] Concil. Gener. tom. x.

A.D.1107. ner of giving them (P). The pope, upon his arrival at Verona, being informed of the emperor's resolution with regard to these points, altered his design of going into Germany, and went through Burgundy into France, where, about Whitsuntide, he held a council at Troyes. Before the assembling of the council, the emperor sent ambassadors to the pope at Chalons upon the Marne, to shew his holiness that his claim of investitures was an ancient right belonging to the emperors; but the pope rejecting his claim, the ambassadors departed in an abrupt manner, declaring that they would determine the controversy at Rome with their swords [x]. The pope proceeded afterwards to Troyes, and in the council ordained, that he investiture of benefices belonged only to the sovereign pontiff; but before the publication of the decree, ambassadors arrived from the emperor, who represented to the council, that the power of appointing bishops had been granted to Charlemagne by the apostolic see; and as Henry was his lawful successor, he expected to enjoy the same privilege. As the emperor had approached with a considerable army to the confines of France, the council deferred the consideration of that question, under pretence that they were in a foreign kingdom, and indulged the emperor with the delay of a year, that he might come in person to Rome to plead his cause in a general council.

He goes into France and holds a council at Troyes.

Paschal having dismissed the council of Troyes, returned in autumn to Italy, and made an accommodation with the

[x] Suger Vita Ludov. cap. 9.

(P) Ever since the time of Charlemagne, princes had been in possession of the right to give investitures of great benefices. The first pope who undertook to deprive them of that right was Gregory VII. though he himself, after his election to the papal see, refused to be consecrated till he had the approbation of the emperor. It must be acknowleged, that the princes, by their frequent abuses of that prerogative, gave too great occasion to the popes to call the lawfulness of it in question. For under pretence that the bishops and abbots could not enter into the possession of their benefices till they had received the investiture of them, the princes openly sold them to the highest bidder. Elections indeed were then in use; but it was the investiture that gave the right to the temporalities, which the princes might refuse to grant if they were not satisfied with the person elected; so that the whole power of providing to benefices was in their hands, for none chose to be elected, unless they were sure of having the consent of the prince.

ambassadors

ambaſſadors of the king of England, with regard to the diſpute about inveſtitures, it being agreed that the king ſhould receive the homage of the new elected biſhops and abbots; but that he ſhould inveſt none by the ring and ſtaff [y]. Having thus put an end to that controverſy, he ſent Gibelin, biſhop of Arles, as his legate to Jeruſalem, who held a council in that city, of the biſhops of the country, in which Ebremarus, who had intruded into the patriarchate, was depoſed, and Gibelin choſen to that dignity. In the following year Paſchal was engaged againſt Ptolemy, count of Tuſculum, and Peter de Columna, who had invaded ſome territories of the church: having reduced them by the aſſiſtance of Leo Frangipani, he went to Benevento, where he held a council, in which an anathema was denounced againſt lay inveſtitures, and the clergy were prohibited from wearing ſecular or ſplendid apparel [z]. Before he went to Benevento, he wrote to Baldwin, king of Jeruſalem, allowing him to add all the cities he ſhould conquer from the infidels to the ſee of Jeruſalem, which grant greatly offended the patriarch of Antioch. Paſchal being ſoon after informed that Alphonſus, king of Arragon, had married Uraca, the daughter of the late king of Caſtile, related to him in the third degree, he wrote to the biſhop of Compoſtella, ordering him to cauſe the inceſtuous marriage to be diſſolved, threatening the king with excommunication and depoſition if he did not comply. Alphonſus paid no regard to the threats of the pope, but was killed ſoon after in his wars with the Moors.

He returns to Italy, and accommodates the difference with the king of England.

A.D. 1108.

A.D. 1109.

He threatens the king of Arragon with excommunication, for marrying his couſin.

In the mean time, the emperor having concluded a peace with the Poles, and made an alliance with the king of England, whoſe daughter he had married, aſſembled a formidable army, and marched for Italy, in order to determine the diſpute concerning inveſtitures, and receive the imperial crown from the pope. Paſchal being informed of his march, and judging by his great preparations that he intended rather to give the law than receive it from the council, ſent to France to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Lewis. He went in perſon to Apulia, and aſſembling the Norman princes and counts of that country, obtained the promiſe of aſſiſtance from them againſt the emperor, if there ſhould be occaſion. Upon his return to the city, he took an oath from the nobles of Rome [a] to the ſame pur-

A.D. 1110.

The emperor marches into Italy.

[y] Ediner. Vita Anſelm. lib. ii. apud Sur. lib. ii. [z] Chron. Caſſin. lib. iv. cap. 34, & 35. [a] Sigon. lib. x. p. 244.

pose. Henry had by this time passed the Alps, and arrived at Ivrea, where he was received with great respect, A.D. 1111. and his army supplied with refreshments. Having afterwards taken and burnt Novara, for offering to resist him, he marched to Milan, where he was crowned king of Italy, by the archbishop, Chrysolaus; and having crossed the Appenine mountains during the month of December, he stopped at Florence, where he kept his Christmas [b].

He is crowned king of Italy at Milan.

From thence he sent one David, a Scotchman, president of the schools of Wirtzburgh, and other learned persons, as his deputies to the pope, who, having admitted them to several audiences, agreed to the following convention: "That the emperor should publicly and by writing renounce his right of investitures on the day of his coronation; that he should put the holy see in possession of all the territories formerly granted to it by Charlemagne, and other emperors; and that he should not, by himself or another, deprive pope Paschal of the pontificate, or take from him his life, liberty, or any of his members: that the pope, on the other side, should order the bishops to deliver up to the emperor their fiefs, and the lands of their bishopricks which held of the empire, that is, all the temporalities of their benefices, and should deliver a bull in good form, forbidding, under pain of excommunication, all bishops ever to pretend to those temporalities [c]."

During the negociations of his deputies with the pope, the emperor advanced by slow marches towards Rome. Upon his arrival at Arezzo, being denied access to the town, he took it by force, and treated it in the same manner as he had treated Novara. Advancing afterwards to Sutri, he was met by his deputies and others, from the pope, who came from Rome with a copy of the convention, which the emperor agreed to, and gave hostages for the security of the performance of it on his part; but to the copy which he signed, he added the following clause: "On condition that the exchange of the right of investitures, for the possessions which the bishops held of the empire, shall be approved of and solemnly ratified by the bishops and nobles of Germany [d]." The pope, either not attending to this clause, or believing that he had authority enough with the German bishops to make them consent to it, made no complaint of that article, but publish-

A treaty concluded betwixt the emperor and the pope at Sutri.

[b] Donizo in Vita Mathild. [c] Chron. Cassin. lib. iv. cap. 37, 38, 39. Exemp. Scr. Cod. Vatican. apud Baron. an. 1111.
[d] Ursperg. Abbas. Baron. Annal. ad an. 1110.

ed

ed, that an honourable peace was concluded with the emperor. The people rejoiced at this intelligence, and received Henry into the city with extraordinary honours, going before him to the church of St. Peter with palms and branches of trees. Being received by the pope on the top of the steps, he was conducted into the church, and seated in a magnificent desk, while his holiness began the mass. After having performed what is called the offertory, the pope, going to proceed to the coronation, demanded of the emperor aloud, if he was willing to renounce his right of investitures in exchange for the fiefs of the bishops. The emperor replied in the affirmative [e]; but the bishops absolutely refused to part with their fiefs, declaring that they had the same right to them that the pope had to the possessions of his see.

Henry enters Rome, and is conducted to the church of St. Peter.

Paschal, finding that he could not prevail with the bishops, declared that he would not crown the emperor, since he did not execute the treaty; and rising from his seat, went to the altar to finish the mass; which behaviour of the pope offending the emperor, he ordered his guards to surround the altar, and made his holiness, and all the cardinals and other ecclesiastics that were assisting him, prisoners. Upon the news of this violence, the Romans immediately assembled, and attacking the Germans, killed a great many of them; but the emperor having the second day after received a reinforcement from his camp, repulsed the Romans with great slaughter, and taking the pope and the other prisoners with him, he marched with his army towards Soracte, ravaging the country round Rome, in hopes of prevailing with the pope to agree to his coronation, upon his own terms. Paschal continued a long time inflexible; but being disappointed in his succours from the Normans, by the death of duke Roger, who died during his confinement [f], and fearing likewise a schism in the church, he was at last prevailed with to renew the treaty, by the supplication of his fellow-prisoners, who were threatened with immediate death in his presence, if he did not consent [g].

The pope refuses to crown the emperor, upon which he is made prisoner.

He accordingly granted to the emperor, by a bull in due form, the right of investitures by the ring and crosier, without any limitations; upon which Henry promised to restore to the church all the possessions granted by former

He consents to crown the emperor, and to ratify his right of investitures by a bull.

[e] Sigon. lib. x. p. 246. [f] Romuald. Chron. hoc anno. [g] Chron. Casin. lib. iv. cap. 41, & 42. [h] Acta ipsa ex Petr. Diac. lib. iv. cap. 42.

emperors. Matters being thus settled, the pope was conducted back to the city, and conferred the imperial crown on the emperor, on the Sunday after Easter, with the usual ceremonies; and was obliged to present him with a new bull, confirming the privilege of investitures [h]. Having then celebrated mass, he divided the host, and presenting one half to the emperor, and reserving the other to himself, he pronounced a curse against the party who should break the present treaty. The ceremony being finished, the emperor left Rome about an hour after, and being accompanied by the pope and several cardinals, set out on his return for Germany.

The pope's conduct is condemned by the cardinals;

Paschal having taken leave of the emperor in Lombardy, returned to Rome, where he was again involved in new troubles, which seemed to him even of more dangerous consequence than the former; for the cardinals and prelates who continued at Rome during his confinement, being greatly offended at his concession to the emperor, publicly condemned his proceeding, and affirmed, that he could not conclude that treaty without the consent of the sacred college; some even talked of deposing him as a heretic, who had contradicted the decrees of his predecessors [i]. Paschal pleaded in his excuse, the necessity to which he was reduced, and that what he had done was not from any consideration of his own danger, but merely to free the city and the whole church from the threatening calamity. The prelates did not acquiesce in this apology; but upon the absence of the pope at Tarracina, assembled of themselves at Rome, and annulling what Paschal had done in the late treaty with the emperor, confirmed the decrees of Gregory VII. Victor III. and Urban II. against lay investitures. The pope wrote them a very moderate letter, blaming their conduct, and declaring, that he would endeavour, as soon as possible, to reform what was amiss in the late treaty. Notwithstanding this letter, many cardinals still continued to censure the conduct of the pope; and Bruno, bishop of Segui, and abbot of Cassino, a man of a warm temper, wrote a letter to the bishop of Porta, in which he accused Paschal of heresy [k].

who annul the treaty.

The pope, offended with the liberty of Bruno, deprived him of his abbacy, and returning immediately to Rome, appointed a general council to be held in the Lateran

[h] Acta ipsa ex Petr. Diac. lib. iv. cap. 42. apud Baron. [i] Epist. Pasch. [k] Epist. Brun. apud eund.

church,

church, to determine concerning the treaty. In the mean time, he wrote to his legates in the other kingdoms of Europe, informing them how he had been forced to grant the treaty to Henry, and declared, that he annulled what was therein contained, and confirmed the decrees of his predeceſſors[l]. The council having aſſembled on the 28th of March, Paſchal informed them how the bull of privileges had been extorted from him: he acknowleged that he had done amiſs, and begged to be corrected; but as he had ſworn never to diſturb the emperor with regard to inveſtitures, he deſired them to elect another pope, to provide for the good of the church[m]. The aſſembly refuſed to receive his reſignation; but, the following day, having appointed the biſhop of Angouleme as their preſident, they made a decree, annulling and condemning the falſe privilege extorted from pope Paſchal by the violence of Henry V. A.D. 1112.

The pope holds a council at the Lateran, who likewiſe condemn the treaty.

The behaviour of the pope in this council was far from ſatisfying all the eccleſiaſtics; he was blamed particularly by Guido, archbiſhop of Vienne, his legate in France, who held a council at Vienne, in which, to maintain the lawfulneſs of lay inveſtitures was judged a hereſy; the above mentioned bull of privileges was likewiſe condemned and annulled, and the emperor himſelf excommunicated. Guido, in the name of the council, wrote to the pope, informing him, that they had condemned the bull extorted from his ſimplicity, and deſiring him to confirm their decrees with his apoſtolic ſanction, eſpecially the ſentence of excommunication againſt the emperor[n]. Henry had been excommunicated the year before by Cono, biſhop of Pilaſtrina, in a council held by him in Jeruſalem, and likewiſe in five other councils, which were held in Greece, Hungary, Saxony, Lorrain, and France[o]: however, the pope, for what reaſon is uncertain, refuſed to give his conſent.

The emperor is excommunicated in the councils of Vienne and Jeruſalem.

In the mean time, an embaſſy arrived at Rome, from Alexius, emperor of Conſtantinople, who expreſſed his ſorrow for the bad treatment the pope had received from Henry, and offered to come himſelf, or to ſend his ſon John, to receive the imperial crown from the hands of Paſchal. This embaſſy was very acceptable to the Romans, who, according to Petrus Diaconus, ſent ſix hun-

The emperor Alexius offers to receive his crown from the hands of the pope.

[l] Epiſt. Paſch. apud Baron. [m] Vita Paſch. a Nicol. Aragon. apud Murator. [n] Baron. Annal. ad. an. 1112. [o] Urſperg. Abbas ad an. 1116.

dred men of note to the coasts of Italy, to conduct the emperor to Rome[p]. Some of the chief of them went with the abbot of Cassino to Constantinople; but Alexius being engaged with other affairs, thought no more of his journey to Italy, so that the ambassadors returned disappointed. While Paschal was in expectation of a visit from Alexius, he received a complaint against Heriman, who had intruded into the see of Augsburgh, and debauched the wives of several citizens; having formerly received an accusation against him in the council of Guastalla, he now wrote to the archbishop of Mentz, to proceed against him in a canonical manner.

The pope holds a council at Benevento.

The following year Paschal went to Benevento, where he held a council, in which were decided some provincial questions, and appointed Landulphus to govern the city under the title of comestable[q]. Soon after he held another synod at Caperano, on the Garigliano, where he restored the archbishop of Casanza to his see, who had been expelled by Roger, count of Sicily, and forced to take the habit of a monk at Cassino[r]. In the mean time, Landulphus, governor of Benevento, having by his incursions drawn the power of the Normans against him, thereby exposed his city to their ravages. The citizens, not being able to repel the invaders, sent their archbishop to the pope; who having received a power to treat with the Normans, returned to Benevento; but, instead of executing his commission, he assembled some troops, and attacked the comestable, whom he compelled to abdicate his dignity. Complaints of the archbishop's conduct being laid before the council at Caperano, he was unanimously deposed; and William, the son of duke Roger, having come to do homage to the pope, he received from his holiness the investiture of his possessions, with the title of duke of Calabria and Apulia. After the dismission of the council, the pope, at the intreaty of Ivo, bishop of Chartres, granted the pallium to Rodolphus, archbishop of Canterbury, without requiring him to come for it to Rome, according to the established custom[s].

A. D. 1114.

A.D. 1115.

In the following year the countess Mathilda died, in the sixty-ninth year of her age; but whether the church of Rome immediately obtained possession of her estates is uncertain; for an author of those times mentions, that, im-

The countess Mathilda dies.

[p] Petr. Diac. Chron. Cassin. lib. iv. cap. 48. [q] Falc. Benev. Chron. apud Murator. tom. v. p. 83. [r] Petr. Diac. Chron. Cassin. lib. iv. cap. 1. [s] Ivon. Epist. 252.

mediately

mediately upon her death, messengers came to the emperor from Italy, inviting him to come and take possession of the estates of his cousin[t] (Q). Paschal, in the mean while, went into Apulia, and held a council at Troja, in which the truce of God (R) was established for three years[u]. Upon his return to Rome, he held a general council in the Lateran church, during the time of Lent, in which assembly he again acknowleged his fault in granting the bull of privileges to the emperor, which he condemned, and declared of no effect, denouncing an anathema against the giver and receiver of a lay investiture. The bishop of Pilastrina, notwithstanding the opposition of several of the emperor's friends who were present, urging the pope to ratify what he had done as his legate, Paschal at last declared, that he approved and confirmed all his proceedings: the bishop thereupon informed the assembly, that he had excommunicated the emperor in six councils. The pope likewise confirmed the decrees of Guido, made in the council of Vienne; so that although himself did not excommunicate the emperor, he confirmed the excommunications which others had fulminated against him[w].

A.D. 1116.

The pope confirms the excommunication of the emperor in the Lateran.

Henry, by this time, had advanced with his army as far as Mantua, and hearing of the determinations of the council, sent ambassadors to the pope, complaining of the injustice of his proceedings. Paschal replied, that he had kept his oath, and had not personally excommunicated him; but as he was excommunicated by a council, he could only be absolved by the same. The emperor finding himself deceived by the pope, resolved, as soon as he had settled the affairs of Lombardy, to march to Rome. Paschal, remembering his former expedition, proposed to the Romans to prepare for making a vigorous defence against the Imperialists; but finding that Ptolemy, count of Tusculum, the prefect of the city, and many of

[t] Ursperg. Abbas. Baron. Annal. ad. an. 1115. [u] Falcon. Benevent. Chron. apud Murator. tom. v. p. 89. 90. Sigon. lib. x. p. 250. [w] Ursperg. Abbas hoc anno. Card. Arragon. in Vita Pasch.

(Q) Beatrice, the wife of Boniface, marquis of Tuscany, and mother of Mathilda, was the sister of Henry III. the grandfather of the emperor.

(R) By the truce of God is meant, a decree prohibiting the taking private revenge on Sundays and holidays, or attacking any person when they were going to church.

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A.D. 1117. the nobles, were in the interest of the emperor, he left Rome, and went the following spring to Monte Cassino. Taking the abbot along with him, he proceeded to Benevento, where he held a council, and restored Landulphus, the archbishop, to his see [x].

The king of England sends ambassadors to the pope, complaining of the rapaciousness of his legate.

While he continued in this city, he received messengers from Rodolphus, archbishop of Canterbury, and Heribert, bishop of Norwich, who had come to Rome, as ambassadors from the king of England, and the clergy of that kingdom, complaining of the rapaciousness of his legate, and insisting upon the privilege granted by St Gregory to the archbishop of Canterbury, of being perpetual legate of the holy see in England. The pope wrote to the bishops and king of England, professing, that he had no intention to violate the privileges of the archbishop of Canterbury; but as the apostolic see had for a long time sent legates into England, he desired to see the bull of the privileges granted by St. Gregory. The ambassadors having received this letter from the pope, returned to England, without any redress [y].

The emperor arrives at Rome.

In the mean time, the emperor, having received the homage of several cities that had belonged to Mathilda, and taken some places in the territory of St. Peter, that had held for the pope, entered Rome in a magnificent manner. Having given his daughter to the son of Ptolemy, and confirmed to him whatever his grandfather Gregory, and his other ancestors possessed, he secured the affection of the other nobles by his great liberalities [z]; but not being able to prevail with any of the clergy of Rome to consent to his coronation, which ceremony he desired again to be performed, Macericius Burdinus, archbishop of Braga, in Portugal, who had attended him in his expedition, crowned him in the church of St. Peter, with great solemnity [a]; immediately after which ceremony, he returned with his army towards Tuscany, upon the account of the heats. Paschal, during his residence in (T) Apulia, had assembled an army of Normans, and thinking himself strong enough to oppose the Imperialists, in the beginning of autumn set out for Rome; but not being able to bear

Is crowned by the bishop of Braga.

[x] Falc. Benevent. Chron. p. 90. Romuald. Salern. Chron. p. 180. [y] Willel. Malmsf. lib. i. Baron. Annal. ad an. 1117.
[z] Chron. Cassin. lib. iv. cap. 63. [a] Sigon. lib. x. p. 252 Vita Pasch. apud Murator. tom. iii.

(T) By Apulia, the authors of those times frequently meant all that part of Italy that lay south from the Tyber.

the

the violent heats, he fell dangerously sick at Anagnia. However, he recovered in some degree, and went to Pi- A.D. 1118.
lastrina, where he dedicated the church of St. Agapetus, and from thence returned, about the middle of January, with the Norman army to Rome; but died the second day after his arrival.

Pope Paschal dies.

The cardinals and bishops who were then in Rome, thinking it of the utmost consequence to elect a successor as soon as possible, immediately sent to Monte Cassino for cardinal Cajetan, and, upon his arrival, unanimously elected him pope, by the name Gelasius II. (U). The election was disturbed by Lincius Frangipani, one of the wealthiest nobles of Rome, entirely attached to the emperor, who, enraged that the cardinals had not elected a person recommended by himself [b], broke in with an armed force into the monastery where they were assembled: there taking Gelasius by the throat, he pulled him from his seat; and, after kicking him, carried him prisoner to his castle in the neighbourhood. Many of the cardinals were likewise seized and shut up with the pope [c]. The news of this outrage spreading through the city, the Normans, together with the Romans, immediately took arms, and besieged the house of Frangipani, who seeing himself likely to be overpowered, asked pardon of the pope, and delivered him up to his friends. Gelasius was then set upon a white horse, and conducted amidst the acclamations of the people to the Lateran palace; but before his consecration, he was alarmed with the news that the emperor had arrived with his army at the portico of St. Peter; upon which information, he immediately went with his attendants on board two small vessels in the river Tiber, with a design to escape by sea; but when he came to Ostia, the weather was so tempestuous, that it was impossible to proceed farther. The German soldiers, who had follow-

Cardinal Cajetan is elected pope by the name of Gelasius II.

Is obliged to leave Rome.

[b] Vita Gelas. apud Platinam. Sigon. lib. x. p. 252. [c] Vita Gelas. ex MSS. Pandulph. Pisan.

(U) Gelasius was born at Gaeta, of a noble and illustrious family, many of his ancestors having been dukes of Gaeta, and also of Naples and Sorrento. He early took the habit of a monk at Monte Cassino, and distinguished himself for his attachment to Urban II. and Paschal II. by the first of whom he was created chancellor and cardinal-deacon, and by the last cardinal-archdeacon and librarian (1).

(1) Comment. Constant. Cajetan. apud Murator. tom. iii.

ed

ed the vessels on the bank of the river, making preparations to seize the pope, he landed, during the night, and was carried on the shoulders of cardinal Hugh to Ardea: a few days after, the weather turning more favourable, he returned to Ostia, and sailed from thence to his native city Gaeta, where, being attended by a great many cardinals and bishops, he was ordained priest, and afterwards consecrated in the presence of William, duke of Apulia, Robert, prince of Capua, and several other Norman nobles, who took the oath of fidelity to him, and received from him the investiture of their estates. He restored Leetus to the archbishoprick of St. Alban's, and went to Capua, where he celebrated the feast of Easter.

Consecrated at Gaeta.

The emperor declares his election void, and appoints Gregory VIII.

He had no sooner arrived at Capua, than he was informed that the emperor had declared his election void, and having assembled in the Vatican all the clergy attached to his interests, had caused Burdinus to be elected by them, under the name of Gregory VIII. The messenger added likewise, that he had advanced with his army into the territory of Anagni, and was besieging Turricolo. Upon this intimation, the pope asked the assistance of the Norman princes, and holding a council in Capua, excommunicated the emperor and the anti-pope [d]. The Norman princes having soon after assembled with their forces at St. Germain, advanced with the pope towards Rome; which motion Henry being informed of, he raised the siege of Turricolo, and leaving the anti-pope with some forces at Rome, he marched with the rest of his army to Germany. Upon the departure of the emperor, Gelasius dismissed the Normans, and returned in a private manner to Rome; but the party of the anti-pope being more powerful than he expected, he lived secretly in the house of Warthman and Pandulphus, two Corsican nobles.

Gelasius goes to France.

Soon after his return, upon the feast of St. Praxidis, going to church to celebrate mass, he was assaulted by Frangipani, with a body of armed men; but his friends making a resolute defence for several hours, he found means of escaping, and fled to the fields, in the neighbourhood of of St. Paul's. Gelasius, finding that the party of the anti-pope was too powerful in Rome, resolved to go into France, and appointed the bishop of Porta as his vicar in the city. He likewise gave the command of the city to Peter Leo, as prefect, and appointed Stephen the Norman standard-bearer and protector of the church. Before he

[d] Concil. Gener. p. 823. Abbas Ursperg. Sigon. lib. x. p. 253.

embarked

embarked for France, he sent the pallium to Walter, lately elected archbishop of Ravenna; and, as that church had deserted the party of the emperor, he restored to its jurisdiction the churches which Paschal had taken from it in the council of Guastalla [e]. The ships being now ready, he sailed for Pisa on the 2d of September, and continuing some days in that city, again put to sea, and arrived at Provence, where he was received with great respect [f].

The emperor is excommunicated.

While he continued in France, he sent a diploma to the archbishop of Toledo, confirming to him the primacy of all Spain; and being informed that the emperor every-where represented his retreat from Rome as an abdication of the pontificate, he sent the famous Cono, bishop of Pilastrina, as his legate into Germany, who held a council at Cologne, and another at Fritzlar, in both which the emperor and the anti-pope were excommunicated [g]. During these disturbances in Rome and Italy, the order of the knights Templars was founded at Jerusalem. In the following year Gelasius held a council at Vienne, and a few days after falling sick of a pleurisy, he died in the monastery of Cluny, on the 28th of January. Before his death, he recommended his legate Cono as his successor, who had returned from Germany; but he refusing to accept of the dignity, the cardinals present unanimously agreed to elect Guido, or Guy, archbishop of Vienne, who arrived at Cluny a few days after the death of Gelasius. The fixing upon a successor before the death of the pope was contrary to custom, but then authorised by the schism occasioned by Burdinus [i].

A.D. 1119.

Death of Gelasius.

Election of Calixtus II.

Gelasius being buried in the monastery of Cluny, the cardinals immediately elected Guido (X), by the name of Calixtus II. but he absolutely refused to assume the pontifical ornaments till the election was ratified by the cardinals and clergy at Rome. Having at last received the appro-

[e] Epist. Gelas. apud Baron. Comment. in Vit. Gelas. apud Murat. tom. iii. [f] Falco. Beneven. Chron. ad hunc ann. [g] Ursperg Abbas hoc anno. [h] Willel. Tyr. Bello Sacro, lib. xii. cap. 7. [i] Comment. in Vit. Gelas. apud Murator. tom. iii.

(X) Guido was the son of William, surnamed Tête Hardie, or *Strong Head*, duke of Burgundy, and consequently related to the blood-royal of France. Adelaide, the wife of Lewis le Gros, was his niece, and the emperor Henry his cousin-german (1).

(1) Suger in Ludov. Vit. Pontif. ex Platin.

bation

bation of the cardinals, bishops, and nobles in that city, he was consecrated on the 14th of October, by Lambert, bishop of Ostia [k]. A few days after, he held a general council at Rheims, at which were present four hundred and twenty-six bishops and abbots, from the different nations of Europe, besides a great number of other ecclesiastics and nobles [l]. The emperor, in the mean time, giving some hopes of an accommodation, and desiring a conference with the pope, Calixtus left the council, and went to Mousson, in order to settle the dispute with the emperor about investitures. Henry had advanced to Troyes with an army of thirty thousand men: though he had agreed, a few weeks before, with the deputies of the pope, to renounce the giving of investitures with the ring and pastoral staff, on condition of being absolved from excommunication, and allowed the privilege of investing with the sceptre, yet he now refused to determine any thing without the advice of a general diet; upon which the pope returned to the council, and, having renewed the decree against lay investitures, pronounced a sentence of excommunication against the emperor and the anti-pope [m].

The emperor is excommunicated by the council of Rheims.

A conference between the pope and the king of England.

After dismissing the council, Calixtus went to Gisors, in Normandy, where he had a conference with Henry, king of England, who, being offended with Thurstan, archbishop of York, for allowing himself to be consecrated at Rheims, without his knowlege, had sworn never to suffer him to enter his dominions. The pope confirmed to Henry all the prerogatives which his ancestors had enjoyed in Normandy and England. He then offered to absolve Henry from the oath he had sworn with regard to Thurstan, which the king consented to, on condition that the archbishop should pay the same subjection to the see of Canterbury, as his predecessors had done; which Thurstan refused to agree to. However, the pope afterwards writing a letter to the king and archbishop of Canterbury, interdicting all divine service in the dioceses of Canterbury and York, unless Thurstan was admitted to his benefice without any limitation, Henry at last allowed him to enter the kingdom, and enjoy his archbishoprick.

A.D. 1120. Calixtus, having settled the affairs of the Gallican church, proposed to set out for Italy; but, before he left France, he enlarged the privileges of the archbishoprick of

Calixtus arrives at Rome.

[k] Falc. Benevent. Chron. hoc anno. [l] Ursperg Abbas.
[m] Roger in Annal Anglic. Act. Concil. p. 478.

Vienne,

Vienne, by a new bull, dated at Valentia upon the Rhoſne, on the 24th of February [n]. Setting out from Valentia, he paſſed the Alps, and was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy by all the cities of Italy through which he paſſed. At Piſa he dedicated the great church to the virgin Mary, and arrived at laſt at Rome, on the 9th of June, where he was received with the greateſt reſpect; upon which the anti-pope quitted the city, and retired to Sutri, which was garriſoned by Imperialiſts [o]. The pope, finding that he would need an army to reduce the place, went, in the beginning of autumn, to Benevento, where he received the allegiance of the Norman princes, and gave the inveſtiture of Apulia to duke William [p]. While he continued in this city, he decreed ſeveral uſurped territories to be again reſtored to the monaſtery of Monte Caſſino; but the abbeſs of the nunnery of St. Mary at Capua, thinking herſelf injured by the ſentence, refuſed to give obedience, although ſhe was excommunicated, and her nunnery laid under an interdict. The diſpute was terminated by the interceſſion of count Rainulphus, who ſatisfied the demands of the monaſtery of Caſſino. Calixtus afterwards received an embaſſy from Lewis, king of France, by Suger, abbot of St. Denis, who wrote the life of that king, and, having diſmiſſed the embaſſy, he went to Traja, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the Normans againſt the anti-pope.

Receives an embaſſy from the king of France.

Having raiſed a conſiderable army, he returned to Rome, and the following ſpring marched againſt Sutri; but he had no ſooner brought his machines to play againſt the walls than the inhabitants capitulated, and delivered up Gregory. He was clothed with raw goats ſkins, and ſet upon a camel, with his face towards the tail, and in that manner led to the city, and, being conducted through the principal ſtreets, was afterwards ſhut up in the monaſtery of Cava for life [q]. Having reduced Sutri, and taken Burdinus, Calixtus deſtroyed ſome of the caſtles of the oppoſite party in Rome, and quelled thoſe counts who had invaded the territories of the church. The peace of the city being thus eſtabliſhed, he appointed Adelbert, archbiſhop of Mentz, as his legate in Germany, who was the emperor's profeſſed enemy, and had raiſed a powerful league againſt him in Saxony: but both the emperor and the ſtates of

Burdinus taken priſoner.

[n] Exemplar Diplom. ap. Baron. Piſan. Falc. Chron. Chron. ad hunc an.
[o] Vit. Calixt. a Pandulph.
[p] Chron. Caſſin. lib. iv. cap. 70. Romuald.
[q] Urſperg. Abbas. Suger in Vita Ludov.

Germany

Germany being weary of the long and destructive wars, which, for more than forty years, had desolated their country, Adelbert was prevented from embroiling the kingdom by their moderation; for a diet being held at Wurtzburg, preliminaries of a peace were settled, and Bruno, bishop of Spire, and Arnold, abbot of Fulde, were sent as deputies to the pope, praying him to call a general council, to terminate all differences betwixt the empire and the church [r].

A.D. 1122. Calixtus received this embassy with great joy, and accordingly held a general council in the Lateran church, during Lent, before which the German ambassadors declared, that the emperor was willing to renounce the right of investiture of benefices, and desired the council to send an embassy to Germany, to receive the renunciation from the emperor, and, in the name of the apostolic see, to absolve him from the sentence of excommunication. The council, with great readiness, complied with their desire, and appointed Lambert, bishop of Ostia, and two other cardinals, as legates of the holy see in Germany. They likewise made some canons, annulling all the proceedings of Burdinus, and threatening excommunication against those who should break the truce of God, coin false money, or attack the city of Benevento. It was ordained also, that persons excommunicated by their own bishop could not be absolved by any other bishop or abbot [s].

Calixtus receives an embassy from Germany.

The affair of investitures determined.

Upon the arrival of the legates in Germany, a diet was appointed to be held at Wurtzburg; but they having consecrated Roger, bishop of that city, although the emperor had appointed one Gebehard, the accommodation was interrupted; for the emperor did not appear at the assembly, which broke up without transacting any business. The legates still continuing in Germany, Henry sent an excuse to them for not appearing at Wurtzburg, and appointed

A.D. 1123. another diet, to be held, in the month of September, at Worms, where he and all his party received a general absolution: he promised, by the bishop of Ostia, to renounce all investiture by the ring and crosier, to restore all possessions that had been usurped from the church, and to allow the vacancies of benefices to be supplied by a free election and consecration. Upon receiving the above concession, attested by the golden seal of the emperor, and the subscriptions of the nobles, who were present, the pope reciprocally promised to allow the elections of German bishops

[r] Ursperg. Abbas. [s] Act Concil. ap. Baron.

and

and abbots to be made in the presence of the emperor, or his commissaries; and if any disputes should happen, they should be determined by the metropolitan, with the consent of the emperor; that the person elected should receive the investiture of the regalia (Y) by the sceptre, and should pay homage for them only; and, lastly, that the subjects of the empire, out of Germany, should be allowed six months for receiving the investiture of the regalia [t].

The peace being ratified on both sides, the emperor sent ambassadors along with the legates to Rome, with rich presents for the pope, who wrote to the emperor, confirming what had been done by his legates, and testifying his joy upon the happy event. Calixtus having thus obtained, in a peaceable manner, from the emperor, what his predecessors had in vain struggled for by violent means, he went to the monastery of Monte Cassino, in order to put a stop to the irruptions of the Norman princes, who had invaded some part of his territories [u]. Upon his return to Rome, he created the bishop of Compostella a metropolitan, from his devotion to the apostle James, whose body is said to be buried in that city (Z).

The pope gives a commission to the bishop of Bamberg to convert the Pomeranians.

In the following year he gave a commission to Otho, bishop of Bamberg, who had formerly been chancellor to the emperor Henry IV. to preach the Gospel, in quality of an apostle, to the Pomeranians, who had been lately conquered by the king of Poland. In consideration likewise of his piety, he granted large privileges to the church of Bamberg, and to fifteen monasteries, which Otho had founded at his own charge [w]. Towards the end of the year he made a large ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons; after which, being seized with a fever, he died on the 15th of December, and was buried in the Lateran church. His memory was very dear to the Romans, on account of his putting an end to the dispute with the em-

Death of Calixtus II.

[t] Ursperg Abbas. [u] Chron. Cassin. lib. iv. cap. 42 & 44.
[w] Ursperg Abbas.

(Y) By the regalia is understood the fiefs, and the royal rights pertaining to them; such as the privileges of judging upon life and death; of coining money; of laying duties upon merchandizes; and other rights granted by the emperors to several churches in the empire.

(Z) Calixtus, besides his letters and decrees, wrote a book of the miracles of St. James the apostle (1).

(1) La Vincentio apud Antonin. par. ii. p. 277. & Vossio de Histor. Lat.

peror about investitures, on terms so advantageous to the papal see, and for several public works which he executed, especially the conducting of water into the city from the ancient Formill [x].

Election of Honorius II.

Calixtus being dead, the cardinals, next day, assembled to chuse a successor, and the greatest part of them fixing upon Theobald, a cardinal-priest, he was called Celestine, and Te Deum immediately sung. But Theobald absolutely refusing to accept of the dignity, Robert Frangipani, with his followers, called out, "Lambert, bishop of Ostia, is pope!" upon which there arose a great confusion in the assembly; but Theobald still refusing to consent to his own election, and Lambert being clothed in the pontifical dress, he was at last acknowleged as pope, by the name of Honorius II. Seven days after, Honorius reflecting that his election was not canonical, resigned his mitre, and other papal ornaments; but the other cardinals being satisfied with his election, obliged him to resume the ornaments, and again declared him pope. During these transactions at Rome, the church of Ireland was again restored to the communion of the Roman see, by St. Malachi, a monk, who obtained the bishoprick of Connor, after it had been possessed by one family for fifteen generations [y].

A.D. 1125.

He excommunicates the abbot of Monte Cassino.

Honorius, soon after his promotion, went to the monastery of Monte Cassino, and reproved the abbot Oderisius for his profusion, accusing him of being more like a soldier than an abbot. From thence he repaired to Benevento, where he continued several months; but that city being shaken by a terrible earthquake, he returned again to Rome; and receiving a complaint against the abbot Oderisius, he summoned him to appear at Rome. The abbot neglecting the summons, Honorius deposed him; but Oderisius paying no regard to that sentence, he was at length excommunicated. The monks immediately assembled, and chose one Nicholas for their abbot; but Honorius sent a legate to Monte Cassino, desiring them to elect Senioretus, chief of the monastery at Capua, which they complied with, but not without murmuring, that their privileges were infringed [z].

About the same time he condemned one Pontius, who, some years before, had been abbot of Cluny. Disagreeing with his monks, he had, with the leave of Calixtus, resigned that charge, and gone into the Holy Land, where he continued three years, and, returning to France, had

[x] Pandulph. Pisan. in Vita Calixt. [y] Bernard in Vita St. Malachi, cap. 5. [z] Chron. Cassin. lib. iv. cap. 91. 95.

insisted

insisted upon resuming his former dignity, to the prejudice of Peter, the present abbot [a]. This same year St. Norbert (B) received from Honorius the confirmation of his new order of Premonstratensians, which he had instituted a few years before.

In the mean time, William, duke of Apulia, dying without issue, Roger, count of Sicily, took possession of his estates as heir, according to an agreement made with him at Messina [b], and, assuming the title of duke, returned to Sicily. Honorius, offended that Roger had assumed the title of duke, and taken possession of Apulia, without first asking the investiture from him, went to Capua, and formed an association with many Norman nobles, to deprive the duke of the estates which he possessed in that part of Italy. Roger, hearing that the pope was offended at his taking possession without his leave, desired to become his vassal, and offered a large sum of money to receive the investiture from him; which Honorius rejecting, Roger committed some hostilities in the neighbourhood of Benevento. The pope, in his speech at Capua, magnifying these injuries he had received from Roger, prevailed with the Normans to raise a powerful army to protect the rights of the church [c].

A.D. 1127.

William, duke of Apulia, leaves his dukedom to the count of Sicily;

While Honorius was engrossed by the affairs of Apulia, he sent Matthew, bishop of Albano, as his legate into France, who held a council at Troyes, which confirmed the order of Knights Templars, that had been instituted at Jerusalem nine years before. He likewise appointed William, archbishop of Canterbury, as his legate in England, who held a national council at Wincheſter. At the same time cardinal Gerard was sent as legate into Germany, who consecrated St. Norbert, then elected to the see of Magdeburgh. Lotharius had, three years before, been

[a] Baron. Annal. ad ann. 1126. [b] Romuald. Chron. Falcon. Benevent. Chron. [c] Idem ibid.

(B) Norbert was the son of the count of Genepe, in the duchy of Cleves, and had spent the greatest part of his life at the court of the emperor Henry V. in elegance and splendor, without engaging in the vices of the court. Influenced by the conversation of Cuno, abbot of Siburgh, he embraced an ecclesiastical life, sold his patrimony, and instituted a new order of monks at Premontre, in the diocese of Laon (1).

(1) Vita S. Norberti.

elected emperor upon the death of Henry V. Conrad, the nephew of the late emperor, pretending to the crown, had entered Italy, and now Lotharius prevailed with the pope to excommunicate him, and the archbishop of Milan, who had crowned him at Monza. Honorius then went into Apulia, and having excommunicated Roger for having assumed the title of duke without leave of the holy see, and hindered the bishops of Sicily from coming to Rome, he advanced against him with a powerful army of Normans. Roger, judging that the princes would not long continue unanimous, declined coming to an action, and, by continuing on the defensive for several months, so fatigued his enemy, that many of the princes refused to continue any longer in the field, and retired with their troops to their own territories.

A.D. 1128.

who is excommunicated.

D.A. 1127.

Honorius is reconciled to Roger.

The pope, finding himself thus deserted, returned to Benevento, and sent his chancellor Americus and Cencius Frangipani to Roger, offering him the investiture of Apulia, on condition of paying allegiance, and promising not to invade Capua or Benevento. Roger, upon receiving this embassy, immediately advanced with his army to Benevento, and at the bridge upon the river Sabbato without the city, swore allegiance to Honorius, and received from him the investiture of Apulia, with the title of duke [d], after which ceremony Honorius returned to Rome. Upon his departure, the Beneventans having murdered William their governor, he went the following year to that city, and having consecrated Franco abbot of the monastery of St. Sophia, desired the citizens to recall the friends of William, who had been banished, and to punish his murderers. The Beneventans refusing to comply with his desire, he left the city, and, inviting duke Roger to ravage their territories, returned to Rome, where he died on the 14th of February, in the sixth year of his pontificate [e].

Death of Honorius.

Two popes elected.

Honorius was succeeded the same day by Gregory, cardinal of St. Angelo, who was elected by the other cardinals before the death of his predecessor was published among the people [f], and took the name of Innocent II. Another party of the clergy and people of Rome assembled likewise the same day, and chose the son of Peter Leo, a cardinal-priest, as successor to Honorius, by the name of Anaclete, who, according to the abbot Suger, an author of great reputation in those times, had the unanimous

[d] Romuald. Chron. Falcon. Benevent. Chron. Ibid. Pandulphus in Vita Hon.

[e] Idem.

[f] Falcon. Chron.

consent

consent of many Roman nobles, bishops, and cardinals [g]. He was likewise, on account of the wealth of his family, universally favoured by the people, who went in a body to seize Innocent, at the house of the Frangipani; but being repulsed, Anaclete led them to the church of St. Peter, and, having made himself master of it, plundered it of its wealth.

Innocent, finding his adversary wholly supported by the people, went with his friends on board two gallies in the river Tyber, and sailed to Pisa [h], from thence to Genoa, and afterwards to St. Gille, in Provence. In the mean time the bishop of Porta, who had consecrated Anaclete, wrote to the bishops who favoured Innocent, accusing them of causing a schism in the church, and affirming, that their clandestine meeting could not be called an election; at the same time denying the charge of pillaging the churches, which the other party accused them of. This letter having no effect upon the bishops, on the following Easter Anaclete excommunicated pope Innocent, with all his adherents, and created new cardinals in the room of those of the opposite party [i]. He likewise wrote to the emperor Lotharius, informing him of his election, observing that he was supported by all the clergy and nobility, had ordained cardinals and consecrated bishops; whereas those of the opposite party had been obliged to fly, in the night, from the house of Leo Frangipani, their principal protector. Besides this letter, there was another sent to the emperor in favour of Anaclete, signed by twenty-one cardinals, and many abbots and suffragans of Rome. Anaclete, at the same time, wrote to other Christian princes, and particularly to the king of France, desiring him to give no assistance to Innocent or his adherents. But Innocent having sent Matthew, bishop of Albano, as his legate into France, he, with the assistance of St Bernard, prevailed upon the king and the bishops of that kingdom to acknowlege Innocent; which circumstance the emperor being informed of, he paid no regard to the letters of Anaclete and his party, but called a diet at Wurtzburgh, in which Innocent was acknowleged as pope, and invited into Germany in the name of the Germanic nation.

Innocent, who was first elected, quits Rome.

Anaclete informs the emperor of his election.

He writes to the king of France.

Mean while Anaclete, finding that his cause was not espoused by the emperor or king of France, went to Be-

He is acknowleged by Roger.

[g] Suger in Vita Ludov. [h] Ex Cod. Vat. apud Baron. Bernard. Abbas in Vita St. Bernard. [i] Baron. Annal.

nevento, and from thence to Abellino, where he had a conference with Roger, duke of Apulia, and agreed to give him the title of king, on condition of his assisting him against Innocent and his party [k]. Accordingly Roger returned to Sicily, and was crowned on Christmas-day, in the city of Palermo, by cardinal Comes, and Anaclete being acknowleged by the abbots and monks of Monte Cassino, returned to Rome [l].

A.D. 1131. *Innocent is received at Paris.*

Next year Innocent celebrated his Easter at Paris, and afterwards held a council at Rheims, in which Anaclete and his adherents were excommunicated. After dismissing the council he proceeded to Liege, where he was received with great respect by the emperor, who, nevertheless, considering the the necessity of the pope's affairs, demanded a restitution of the right of investitures. This proposition greatly embarrassed Innocent; but St. Bernard strenuously asserting the rights of the church, the emperor gave up the point of investitures, on condition of enjoying the possession of the estates of Mathilda for his life and the life of his son-in-law, the duke of Bavaria, upon paying yearly to the pope a hundred pounds of silver [m]. After this accommodation Innocent crowned the emperor and the empress. Returning to France, he

A.D. 1132. *He returns to Italy.*

visited the monastery of St. Bernard at Bonnevalle, and then set out for Italy, having received a large sum of money from the Gallican church, for the expences of his journey.

Arriving at Placentia after Easter, he held a council in that city of the bishops of Lombardy and Ravenna; and the emperor Lotharius soon after entering Italy with an army, he had a conference with him at Roncalia, from whence he set out for Pisa, and continuing there several months, enlarged the privileges of that church, subjecting to its diocese the island of Sardinia, and three bishops of Corsica. Lotharius having settled the affairs of Lombardy, marched in the following spring to Rome, with a small army of only two thousand men, and having entered part of the city, was crowned emperor by the pope in the Lateran church, Anaclete and his party being still in possession of the church of St. Peter, and many other places of strength in the city. Lotharius not being able to prevail with Anaclete to renounce his pretensions to the

A.D. 1133. *The emperor crowned at Rome.*

[k] Chron. Cassin. lib. iv. cap. 112, & seq. Chron. Falcon. [l] Not. in Chron. Cassin. lib. iv. cap. 97. apud Murator. [m] Petr. Cluniacens. lib. iii.

ponti-

pontificate, and not having troops sufficient to oppose Roger, left Rome and returned to Germany. Innocent, upon the departure of the emperor, was soon after forced, by the party of Anaclete, to quit Rome, and, reflecting on the kindness of the Pisans, again returned to that city, where he held a general council about Easter, and excommunicated Anaclete and his adherents [n]. After the council he sent St. Bernard as his legate to Milan, who prevailed with the inhabitants of that city to forsake the party of Conrad, the competitor for the empire, and to acknowlege the emperor Lotharius, who at last prevailing on Conrad to drop his pretensions, raised a formidable army, and, the following year, entered Italy about the beginning of autumn, accompanied by the empress, Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria, Conrad, duke of Swabia, and many other nobles. Having reduced several cities in Lombardy that ventured to oppose him, he gave them to his son-in-law, and, after holding a council in the plain of Roncalia, marched with his army to Ravenna, where he deliberated on the operations of the following campaign. In the mean time Guarin, the chancellor of the king of Sicily, being left by Roger in Apulia, employed himself in strengthening the cities in that duchy; and hearing that the abbot of Monte Cassino was inclining to favour Innocent, he made an attempt to take possession of that monastery, but was disappointed by the vigilance of the abbot, who died soon after. Upon his decease the monks disagreed in their choice of a successor, and, two abbots being elected, one embraced the party of Anaclete and Roger, while the other solicited the protection of the emperor.

A.D 1136.

The emperor enters Italy with an army.

Lotharius had at this time arrived with his army at Viterbo, and, having had a conference with the pope, sent Henry his son-in-law, with three thousand horse, into Campania, who quickly reduced Monte Cassino; and, having restored Robert to his principality of Capua, made himself master of Benevento. The emperor, in the mean while, had reduced Romagna, the March of Ancona, and Umbria, without opposition, and, advancing into Apulia, besieged Bari, which he took after a siege of forty days. Proceeding from thence to Salerno he quickly made himself master of that city by the assistance of the Venetian and Pisan fleets. Having completed the conquest of Apulia he marched to Benevento, where he had a great dispute with the pope about the property of the con-

A.D. 1137.

He expels Roger from Apulia.

[n] Bernard. Beneval. in Vita S. Bernard.

quered provinces. As they both pretended to the superiority of Apulia, after thirty days disputation, it was at length agreed, that they should both give the investiture at the same time. Accordingly count Renaud, or Rainulph, received the investiture of Apulia from the emperor and Innocent in the presence of the whole army [o]. Benevento, and all the other possessions taken from the church of Rome, were restored by the emperor, who then proceeded to Monte Cassino with the pope; and Innocent having deposed the abbot who had been ordained by Anaclete, and ordered a new election, afterwards advanced to Rome with Lotharius. The emperor having settled the affairs of that city, set out on his return for Germany; but dying in a village of the Alps, he sent the imperial ensigns to Henry, duke of Bavaria, who had married his only daughter [p].

Roger enters Italy with an army.

The emperor had no sooner entered Lombardy than Roger returned to Italy with an army; and many of the cities of Apulia again revolting to him, he marched to Capua, which he took and plundered, allowing the soldiers even to pillage the churches. The Beneventans, afraid of the same fate, immediately sent ambassadors to Roger, with offers of submission, and abjuring Innocent, again acknowleged Anaclete. In the mean time Rainulph, having assembled a small army to defend his new acquired duchy, ventured an engagement with Roger, who being entirely defeated, had recourse to negociation, and proposed a conference at Salerno of three cardinals of either party, in order to examine into the merits of the election of Innocent and Anaclete [q]. The disputation being finished, Roger, to gain time to establish his affairs, proposed that it should be put in writing, and that one cardinal of each party should go with him to Sicily, to lay it before the bishops of that kingdom, a proposal which was accordingly agreed to, but soon rendered needless by the death of Anaclete, who died in the beginning of January [r]. During these transactions, St. Malachi, archbishop of Armagh, arrived at Rome, to have the sanction of the apostolic see for his ministry in Ireland, and to obtain a pallium for himself and the other metropolitan. Innocent received him with great humanity, and appointed him his legate in that kingdom; but denied his request of the pal-

Is defeated by Rainulph.

A.D. 1138.

Death of Anaclete.

[o] Falco. Benevent. Chron. Romuald. Salern. Chron. [p] Chron. Cassin. Otho Frisingens. [q] Falco. Benevent. Chron. [r] Bernard Abbas.

lium,

lium, telling him, that as it was a solemn matter, he must first call a national council of the clergy and nobles, and have his request seconded by them [s].

Another anti-pope elected, but is reconciled to the pope.

Roger being informed of the death of Anaclete, by his brothers and the cardinals of his party, gave his consent to their electing another pope. One Gregory, a cardinal-priest, was accordingly elected by them, and took the name of Victor; but, a few days after, the brothers of Anaclete having made their peace with Innocent, Victor renounced his mitre and ornaments, and was likewise reconciled to the pope, upon which his whole party acknowleged their error, and were re-united to the Roman church. In the mean time Innocent sent Theodwin, a cardinal-bishop, as his legate into Germany, who was present at an assembly of the nobles of that kingdom, held about the middle of Lent, at Coblentz, where Conrad, the late competitor for the empire, was declared emperor (C).

A.D. 1139.

A general council at Rome.

During the disturbances in Germany, occasioned by this election, Innocent assembled a general council at Rome, at which were present one thousand bishops. This council excommunicated Roger, king of Sicily, and made thirty canons, chiefly relating to matters determined in former councils. It was decreed that all ordinations by Anaclete, and other schismatics, should be void; that the nuns and monks should not sing in the same choir;

[s] St. Barnard, in Vit. St. Malach.

(C) What determined the pope to countenance this irregular meeting is uncertain. That the assembly was not a diet of the empire, is declared by Otho, bishop of Frisingen, who relates, that Conrad, fearing that Henry, duke of Bavaria, who was left in possession of the imperial ornaments, would have too great an influence at the diet to be held at Mentz, in Whitsuntide, privately assembled the nobles of his party on the 22d of February, and being countenanced by the pope's legate, was declared emperor, and crowned by him at Aix la Chapelle. It is probable Innocent was afraid of the haughty disposition of Henry, and of his great power, as he possessed all Saxony, except Misnia and Thuringia, likewise the duchy of Bavaria, the principalities of Spoleto and Verona, with all the estates of Mathilda; so that, as he boasted himself, he was lord from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. If the imperial dignity had been added, he would have been so independent and powerful as to have vindicated the rights of the empire from the usurpations of the papal see.

that

that none, under the pain of excommunication, should claim a benefice as hereditary; that no clergyman or monk should follow the profession of the law or physic for gain; that no benefice should continue vacant above three months; and an anathema was denounced against usurers, wilful incendiaries, and those soldiers who assembled on holidays to try feats of strength[t]. The council likewise condemned Arnold, or Arnulph, a reader of the church of Brescia, who was accused of publishing a new heresy, he having publicly affirmed, since his return from his studies, under Peter Abelard, in France, that the Gospel did not allow clergymen to be possessed of any settled revenues, but appropriated for them only the tithes and the free gifts of their hearers[u].

Rainulphus duke of Apulia dies.

While the council was held at Rome, Rainulph, duke of Apulia, died; an event, which Roger being informed of, immediately landed an army at Salerno, and reduced all Apulia, except Traja and Bari: Innocent, alarmed at his quick progress, and desiring to assist the rebels, assembled some forces, and marched to St. Germano; but a few days after he had arrived in those parts, he was surprised by Roger's son, with one thousand horse, and carried a prisoner to the king[w]. Roger treated the pope with great respect, but refused to grant him his liberty till he had absolved him from the sentence of excommunication, and concluded a peace. Accordingly Innocent, having granted him and his party absolution, conferred upon him the title of king of Sicily, duke of Apulia, and prince of Capua, on condition of paying homage for these territories to the see of Rome, and a yearly tribute of six hundred scyfates[x] (D). A reconciliation being thus effected, Innocent returned to Rome, where he was in vain solicited to break the peace he had but lately concluded.

A D. 1140.

Innocent confers on Roger the title of king.

Soon after his arrival at the city, he received a complaint against Peter Abelard, the master of Arnold of Brescia, who was accused of heresy by the synod of France and the abbot St. Bernard. Abelard had long taught philosophy with great reputation, and had published se-

[t] Acta Concil. apud Baron. [u] Otho Frising. lib. ii. cap. 20. Gunther. Ligur. Poema. de Gest. Fred. I. lib iii. [w] Falcon. Benevent. Chron. [x] Exemplar. Diplom. apud Baron.

(D) A gold coin, having the figure of a cup stamped upon it,

veral

veral books, in which he maintained ſome doctrines that were contrary to the faith profeſſed by the Roman church. The pope's legate in France had ordered thoſe books to be burnt; nevertheleſs, a ſecond edition of them appeared, and Abelard undertook to defend publicly the doctrines contained in them. Upon which the archbiſhop of Sens, the metropolitan, invited St. Bernard to impugn his errors, and appointed a day for the diſputation. Abelard, ſtruck with the appearance of the aſſembly, at which the king and a great many biſhops, abbots, and other perſons of learning, were preſent, was not able to diſpute, but appealed to the apoſtolic ſee. Innocent being informed of theſe proceedings by the biſhops and the abbot St. Bernard, condemned Abelard to perpetual ſilence, as a heretic, and excommunicated all thoſe who followed his doctrines. The proſecution went no farther; for, at the interceſſion of Peter, abbot of Cluny, the pope abſolved him from all cenſure, and allowed him to reſide in that monaſtery, where he ſpent the reſt of his days in great piety and humility [y].

Abelard, profeſſor of philoſophy in France, is ſilenced as a heretic.

While Innocent was engaged in putting a ſtop to the doctrines of Abelard, he was alarmed at the revolt of the Tiburtins, who, imitating many other cities in Italy, wanted to aſſert their own independency; and, having defeated the Romans in ſeveral engagements, ſtruck a terror into the city. Innocent, having excommunicated them, marched againſt the place with a conſiderable army, and, after a long ſiege obliged them to ſurrender; but reſtraining the Romans from plundering the city, a ſedition aroſe in his own army, who propoſed to reſtore the ancient republic; and taking poſſeſſion of the Capitol, nominated a ſenatorian order, and renewed the war with the Tiburtins. Theſe commotions were in ſome meaſure quelled by Innocent, who laid the Romans under an interdict, and deprived them of the privilege of having any part in the election of future popes [z]. The following year he ſent Ivo, a cardinal-prieſt, as his legate into France, to enquire into the conduct of Radulphus, count of Vermandois, who had unjuſtly obtained a divorce from his wife, and married Petronilla, the queen's ſiſter. Ivo, finding the reaſons alleged for the divorce unlawful, ſuſpended the biſhops who had given the ſentence, excommunicated

A.D. 1141.

The Tiburtins revolt, but are ſubdued.

A.D 1142.

The Romans appoint a ſenate.

[y] Vita S. Bernard. lib. iii. cap. 5. Bernard. Epiſt. 187, 189, 190. Pet. Clun. lib. v. Epiſt. ad Eloiſam. Otho Friſingenſ. lib. vii. cap. 27.

[z] Sigon. lib. ii. p. 276.

Radulphus,

Radulphus, and laid the kingdom under an interdict. This severe measure created a great disturbance in France, the bishops and people in that kingdom murmuring against the pope, and threatening to renounce his authority. Innocent being greatly affected with their disobedience, and with the seditions that still continued in Rome, fell into a languishing illness, and died the year following, on the 24th of September [a].

A.D. 1143.

Death of Innocent.

Is succeeded by Celestine II.

The day after the death of Innocent, the cardinals assembled to chuse a successor; and being in great terror from the republican party, which daily gained strength, they unanimously elected Guido of Castello, a cardinal-priest, who took the name of Celestine II. Soon after his election, he was reconciled to the king of France, and took off the interdict from that kingdom, but upon what conditions is unknown. Having ordained several bishops, priests, and deacons, he died about the beginning of March, and was buried in the Lateran church.

A.D. 1144.

Death of Celestin-, who is succeeded by Lucius II.

He was succeeded two days after by Gerard, a cardinal-priest, with the title of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, who took the name of Lucius II. In the mean time, the seditious Romans, having settled a form of government, conferred the dignity of patrician upon Jordanus, one of the sons of Peter Leo: having embraced the doctrines of Arnold of Brescia, from whence they were called Arnoldists, they made themselves masters of all the strong places in the city, and sent to the pope, demanding him to resign to their senate the administration of all temporal concerns, and to content himself with the care of spiritual matters, and the tythes and offerings of the faithful, in imitation of the primitive followers of St. Peter: they did not even wait for the pope's compliance with this demand, but assumed the civil jurisdiction, turned out the officers commissioned by him, and appropriated the revenues of the city and church patrimony to their own use. Lucius, having concluded a truce with the king of Sicily, who at this time invaded the church territories in Campania, wrote a submissive letter to the emperor, desiring his assistance against the seditious Romans. Conrad likewise received a letter from the republican party, informing him, that what they had done was for his honour, and from their fidelity to him. They invited him also to come to the city, telling him that they had rebuilt the Milvian bridge, to facilitate his access; and concluded with wishing that he

The Romans assume the civil jurisdiction.

[a] Vita Innocent. ex Card. Arrag.

might

might enjoy the empire in the same manner as it was possessed by Justinian and Constantine. Mean while Lucius, resolving, if possible, to put a stop to the revolt, assembled a considerable body of troops, and besieged the senators in the Capitol; but being wounded by a stone from the besieged, he died a few days after [b]. A.D.1145. *Lucius is killed.*

Upon the death of Lucius, the cardinals, not agreeing upon any one of their own number, chose Bernard, abbot of the monastery of St. Anastasius, who took the name of Eugenius III. As he was informed the republicans were determined to oppose his consecration in the church of St. Peter, unless he would confirm their new established senate, he fled out of the city, and was consecrated at the monastery of Farfara, in the Sabine territory. In the mean time, Arnold of Brescia arriving at Rome, encouraged the Romans in their revolt, who, by his advice, repaired the Capitol, and revived the ancient equestrian order. They likewise fortified the church of St. Peter, and pillaged and destroyed the houses of the cardinals, and those nobles who favoured the pope. Eugenius not being able to oppose their outrages, went to Viterbo, where he received an embassy from the king of England. Another embassy likewise arrived from the bishops and metropolitan of Armenia, who, having had some disputes with the Greek church, about the manner of celebrating the eucharist, desired to be informed of the manner observed by the church of Rome. At the same time a bishop arrived from Syria, desiring the confirmation of the apostolic see, for the tythes of those countries conquered from the infidels, and intreating the assistance of the European princes, as the Christians in Asia had lately suffered a great defeat, and lost the city of Edessa. Eugenius, moved by his account, gave liberty to St. Bernard to preach up a crusade, and wrote a long letter, addressed to the king of France and his subjects, exhorting them to the sacred expedition, by offering them a full remission of all their sins [c]. Having likewise sent Peter, abbot of Cluny, to mediate a peace between the cities of Pisa and Lucca, he solicited the assistance of the Tiburtins, and other people of Latium, against the rebellious Romans, whom he quickly obliged to sue for peace, which was accordingly concluded, on condition that they abolished the patrician dignity, restored *Succeeded by Eugenius I.I. who quits Rome, and retires to Viterbo. The Romans sue for peace.*

[b] Vita Innocent. ex Card. Arrag. lib. vii. cap. 31. Baronii Annal. ad an. 1144. 1145.

[c] Epist. Eugen. apud Baron.

the

the prefect of the city, expelled Arnold, and obliged the senators to take the oath of allegiance to the pope [d].

A.D. 1146. The sedition being thus, in appearance, quelled, Eugenius returned to Rome; but, soon after Christmas, the Arnoldists again began to mutiny, and insisted upon the entire destruction of Tibur or Tivoli. Their request being denied, they grew so outrageous, that the pope quitted the city, and retired beyond the Tiber, to the castle of St. Angelo, where he was informed by the letters of St. Bernard, that, in consequence of his preaching the crusade, a national council of the bishops and nobles of France had assembled at Chartres, and unanimously conferred the chief command of the whole expedition upon himself. The pope did not allow Bernard to undertake that commission; however, soon after, at another council, held in France, the abbot put the cross upon Lewis the king, who, with great chearfulness, undertook the expedition, and was followed by the greatest part of the nobility of his kingdom [e]. St. Bernard having met with such great success in preaching the crusade in France, went into Germany for the same purpose; but one Rodolphus, a monk, having, without the pope's authority, assembled a body of croises, and attacked the Jews in Germany, he wrote to the archbishop of Mentz, condemning his proceedings; and having procured him to be silenced, and shut up in a monastery, he went to the general diet held at Spire, where he prevailed upon the emperor Conrad, and many of the nobles of Germany, to assume the cross [f], not only against the infidels in Asia, but likewise against the Pagans in the north of Saxony.

The pope obliged to quit the city.

The emperor and king of France undertake an expedition into the Holy Land.

[d] Otho Frising. lib. i. cap. 37. Sigon. lib. xi. p. 278. [e] Bernard, Epist. 322. Baron. Annales. [f] Otho Frising. ubi supra.

SECT.

SECT. V.

The Transactions of the Popes, continued to the Submission of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

THE levies being completed in Germany, the emperor, at the head of a numerous army, set out for the Holy Land, after Easter, accompanied by the pope's legate, and Adam, abbot of York. The king of France was detained some time by the arrival of Eugenius in his kingdom, who having been still harrassed by the seditious Romans, was obliged to quit Italy. Lewis, after having received the pope at Paris, and appointed the historian Suger, abbot of St. Denis, administrator of the kingdom during his absence, began his march on the second week after Whitsuntide, and, towards the end of the year, joined Conrad in Asia [g]. In the mean time, Eugenius held a council at Paris, to examine the doctrines of Gilbert, bishop of Poictiers, who had been accused of heresy in asserting, that the Divine Essence was not God; that the properties of the Persons were not the Persons themselves; that the Divine Nature was not incarnate; and some other propositions that were said to be less important. The assembly decided nothing in the affair; but, by the advice of Eugenius, referred it to the consideration of a general council. Other heresies at this time prevailing in France, Eugenius sent the bishop of Ostia as his legate to the province of Thoulouse, against one Henry, who asserted, that it was needless to build churches; that baptism was of no service; that it was in vain to pray for the dead; that the cross ought not to be honoured or worshipped; that singing the service was mocking of God; and that the body of Christ was not present in the sacrament of the eucharist. St. Bernard having accompanied the legate, wrote to the count of St. Gill, in whose territory Henry resided, and exerted himself so vigorously, that the people renounced the doctrines of Henry, and delivered him up bound to the abbot [h]. During these transactions in France, the croises had arrived in Syria; but, having suffered greatly by the fatigues of their march, and the treachery of the Greek emperor, very few of them remained alive; and not being

A.D. 1147.

The pope goes into France.

Opposes the heresies in that kingdom.

A.D. 1148.

[g] Suger Abbas in Vit. Lud. Otho Frising. ubi supra. [h] Gofrid. in Vita S. Bernard. lib. iii. cap. 5. Bernard. Epist. 241.

able

able to undertake any enterprize, they resolved to return to Europe.

A general council at Rheims.

Eugenius still continuing in France, held a general council at Rheims, about the middle of Lent, to determine the affair of the bishop of Poictiers; and having drawn up a confession of faith, in opposition to the heretical articles, the bishop renounced his opinion, and declared his assent to them. Having dismissed the council, Eugenius went to Triers, where being convinced of the truth of the prophecies of St. Hildegardis, a nun, he wrote to her, and gave her liberty to publish whatever should be revealed to her by Divine inspiration [i]. From Triers he proceeded to the monastery of Clairvaux (E), where he determined the dispute betwixt the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of St. David's, who pretended to be metropolitan of Wales. Having decided in favour of the archbishop of Canterbury, and sent cardinal Nicolas as his legate into Denmark, he returned to the neighbourhood of Rome, not being able to enter the city, which was still possessed by the faction of the Arnoldists. The emperor Conrad, being returned from his expedition, Eugenius wrote to him, and, to comfort him for his bad success, gave him the titles of Catholic Prince, and Defender of the Roman Church.

The pope returns to Italy;

A.D. 1149.

and encourages a crusade in France.

He likewise wrote to France, to encourage another crusade to Jerusalem; but the Cistertian monks opposed this second expedition, as the bad success of the former had drawn upon St. Bernard the indignation and censure of the people of Germany and France, who accused him of being a false prophet, and the murderer of their friends, by sending them into a distant country, to perish in the midst of deserts (F). In the following year, the Arnoldists being still in possession of Rome, Eugenius went to Feren-

A.D. 1150.

[i] Apud Surium, tom. v.

(E) Bernard, abbot of Bonévalle, relates, that when Eugenius continued in the monastery of Clairvaux, he lived in the same austerity as the monks; that he wore no shirt; and though he had purple curtains to his bed, yet the bed itself was nothing but straw (1).

(F) St. Bernard, to recover his character, which was greatly lessened in the opinion of the people of France and Germany, two years afterwards wrote an apology for his conduct, which he dedicated to the pope.

(1) Vita St. Bern. lib. ii. cap. 8.

tino;

tino; but, in the autumn, returning to the city, he had a visit from the abbot of Cluny, who came to complain of a certain nobleman that had built a castle overlooking his monastery. Soon after, the archbishops of Cologne and Mentz arrived at Rome, to plead their cause, the archbishop of Cologne having been accused of defaming his brother of Mentz. The pope absolved the archbishop of Cologne as innocent, and referred the trial of the archbishop of Mentz to his legates in Germany. He then sent the other two legates, who dissolved the marriage of Frederic, duke of Suabia, with his wife, upon account of consanguinity. Another legate was likewise at this time sent into Ireland, who divided that kingdom into four metropolitan provinces, and carried the pallium with him for the archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Connaught[k].

In the mean time, Frederic, duke of Suabia, having succeeded to the empire upon the decease of his uncle Conrad, sent an embassy to the pope, and concluded a treaty with him, to the following purpose: that the emperor should not conclude a peace or truce with the Romans, or Roger, king of Sicily, without the consent of the pope or his successors; that he should endeavour to reduce the Romans to the obedience of the pope, and should not grant any lands to the Greek emperor, on that side of the sea. On the other side, the pope promised to give the imperial crown to Frederic; to study the honour and enlargement of the empire; and not to grant any lands to the Greek emperor on his side the sea. A. D. 1152. *The emperor concludes a treaty with the pope;*

This good correspondence between the emperor and the pope was of very short continuance; for, a few months afterwards, Frederic having conferred the metropolitan church of Madgeburgh upon Guicman, bishop of Zeitz, Eugenius wrote to the bishops of Germany, charging them to desire the emperor to desist from that unnecessary translation, and insisting that the emperor had no authority to translate from one bishoprick to another, without leave from the apostolic see[l]. This letter had not the effect Eugenius desired; however, he did not push the affair any farther at that time, but next year sent two legates into Germany, to judge the archbishop of Mentz, who, being of a peaceable and mild disposition, had been accused of a slothful negligence of his charge. The legates having A. D. 1153. *and translates Guicman to the see of Magdeburgh; which offends the pope.*

[k] Baronii Annales ad an. 1151. [l] Otho Frising. lib. ii. cap. 9.

been corrupted by Arnold, the archbishop's greatest confident, who had been lately preferred by him, would not hear any defence, but deposed him from his archbishoprick, and substituted Arnold in his place. The archbishop, scorning to appeal to the papal see, appealed to the judgment of Christ, and retired to the monastery of the Cistercians, where he died, greatly lamented [m]. During these transactions in Germany, Eugenius died at Tivoli, and was buried with great pomp in the church of St. Peter (G).

Death of Eugenius.

Succeeded by Anastasius IV.

Next day after the death of Eugenius, the cardinals unanimously elected Conrad, a cardinal, and bishop of Sabino, as his successor, who took upon him the name of Anastasius IV. and sent cardinal Gerard as his legate into Germany, to judge the cause of the bishop of Magdeburgh, who had been lately translated by the emperor. Gerard, arriving at Magdeburgh, began to exert his apostolic authority in deciding the cause; but the emperor, who was then celebrating his Christmas in that city, checked him so severely, that, finding he could not proceed in the affair, he set out on his return to Rome, but died of grief upon his journey. However, the emperor, willing to conclude the affair without coming to a rupture with the pope, sent an embassy to Rome, together with the archbishop elect, which had such an influence with Anastasius, that Guicman was not only confirmed, but received the pallium, not without great scandal to many people, who had heard the court of Rome declare, that Guicman should never be confirmed [n]. Soon after, Anastasius, having been accused of too great condescension, and a neglect of the rights of the see of Rome, died, and was buried in the Lateran church.

A.D. 1154.

who confirms the bishop of Magdeburgh.

Dies at Rome, and is succeeded by Hadrian IV.

Two days after the death of Anastasius, Nicolas, bishop of Albano, was chosen pope by the name of Hadrian IV. (H), who, immediately after his election, sent a legate

[m] Conrad Episcop. Chron. Mogun. cap. 10.

[n] Otho Frising, lib. ii.

(G) A few months after the death of Eugenius, died St. Bernard, after having founded one hundred and sixty monasteries, and spent his whole life as a zealous champion for the advancement of the power of the Roman church.

(H) Nicolas was born in England, at St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire. His parents are said to have been beggars. He himself, when a boy, left his native country, and travelling into France, was admitted as a poor clerk, in the church of St.

legate to William, king of Sicily. The pope having only ſtyled him Lord of Sicily, William would not admit the legate to an audience, but ordered him to return to Rome [m]. Mean while, the emperor Frederic, having ſettled the affairs of Germany, and being invited by ſeveral cities in Lombardy to protect them from the uſurpations of their neighbours, had entered Italy with a powerful army, and having received the crown of Italy from the archbiſhop of Milan, held a general aſſembly of the ſtates in the plain of Roncalia. After diſmiſſing the aſſembly, he marched with his army againſt Milan, and having defeated ſome troops that had marched out againſt him, he put his army into winter quarters in Lombardy [n].

The emperor enters Italy with an army.

During theſe tranſactions, great diſturbances happened at Rome; for Hadrian refuſing to comply with the requeſt of the people, who deſired the civil power to be committed to the ſenators, they attacked one cardinal Vido, by ſome called Gerard, as he was going to the pope, and wounded him in ſuch a manner that he died. As a puniſhment for this murder, the pope laid the city under an interdict, which continued ſeveral weeks: the ſenators were at laſt compelled by the clergy to ſubmit to the pope; and, having ſworn to him upon the Goſpels, to expel Arnold and his adherents from the city, the interdict was taken off in the following Eaſter week. This accommodation was of very ſhort continuance, for the republican party ſoon becoming again ſeditious, the pope was obliged to quit the city, and retire to Viterbo, where he excommunicated William, ſurnamed the Bad, king of Sicily, who had attacked Benevento, and ravaged the territories of Campania.

A.D. 1155.

The Romans murder a cardinal.

In the mean time, the emperor Frederick, having drawn his troops from their winter quarters, reduced ſeveral towns in Lombardy, and was marching directly for Rome.

The emperor goes to Rome;

[m] Romuald. Chron. [n] Sigon. lib. xii. p. 287.

St. James in Melgor, and making a progreſs in learning, took the habit of a monk, in the monaſtery of St. Rufus, in Dauphiné; where, in proceſs of time, he became prior, and afterwards abbot. After obtaining this promotion, he went to Rome about the affairs of his monaſtery, and was ſo acceptable to pope Eugenius, that he detained him with him, and created him biſhop of Albano. That pope ſoon after ſent him as his legate into Denmark, ſome ſay Norway, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf for ſeveral years in that capacity, and returned to Rome a little before the death of Anaſtaſius.

The pope, who was then at Viterbo, alarmed at his march, retired to Citta di Caſtello, a place of great ſtrength, and ſent three cardinals to negociate a treaty (I) with him before he proceeded farther. Frederic, at the ſame time, had ſent an embaſſy to the pope, and, after ſome difficulties, it was agreed that his holineſs ſhould give him the imperial crown, Frederic having ſworn not to hurt the pope in his life or members. The treaty being concluded, the emperor advanced with his army to Sutri, where he received the pope and cardinals with great reſpect, and conducted his holineſs to his tent; but having neglected to hold the ſtirrup when the pope alighted, the cardinals, imagining that the emperor had ſome hoſtile intention, immediately fled back to Citta di Caſtello; and Hadrian, offended at his overſight, refuſed to admit him to the kiſs of peace. The emperor alleged that it was not his duty; but, after two days diſputing, being at laſt convinced that former emperors had performed that ceremony, he likewiſe condeſcended to do the ſame. All differences being thus accommodated with the pope, he received an embaſſy from the ſenate and people of Rome; but they addreſſing him in the ſtyle of independency, he diſmiſſed them abruptly, and that ſame evening he ſent cardinal Octavianus, with one thouſand horſe, who took poſſeſſion of the Leonine part of the city, and fortified the Ælian bridge, to prevent any ſurprize from the Romans.

where he is crowned by the pope;

Having taken this precaution, the emperor advanced with his army to the neighbourhood of the city, and received the imperial crown from the pope in the church of St. Peter, without any diſturbance: but he had no ſooner returned to his camp than the Romans, enraged that their embaſſy had been rejected, and the coronation performed without conſulting them, paſſed the Tiber, and attacking the church of St. Peter, killed ſeveral biſhops of the party of the emperor. Frederick immediately returned to the aſſiſtance of the pope, and, after a deſperate engagement of four hours, repulſed the Romans, killing one

(I) Arnold of Breſcia, having lately fallen into the emperor's hands, by the means of the counts of Campania, who had taken him from cardinal Gerard, the pope's deputies demanded him to be delivered up. The emperor acquieſcing in their demand, Arnold was carried to Rome, where he was condemned and burnt as a heretic, and his aſhes were thrown into the Tiber, leſt his followers ſhould honour his relics as thoſe of a martyr.

thouſand

thousand of them, and taking two hundred prisoners, with the loss of only one German killed, and another a prisoner °. At the intreaty of the pope, he restored the Roman prisoners; but the Romans refusing him provisions for his army, he marched up the Tiber to Ponte Lucano, where he received the submission of the Tiburtins; but the pope claiming that city as part of the Roman territory, the emperor ceded it to Hadrian, and, his army being attacked with sickness, he set out on his return to Germany.

and returns to Germany.

After his departure, the pope went to St. Germans, where he received the homage of Robert, prince of Capua, and of other counts and barons of Apulia, whom he had excited to rebel against the king of Sicily. While he continued in that city, the Greek emperor wrote to him, offering to drive William from Apulia and Sicily, on condition of being allowed three sea-coast towns in Italy. This proposal alarming the king of Sicily, he sent some of his nobles to the pope, desiring to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication, offering to restore all the possessions of the church, and to assist his holiness with arms and money to reduce the rebellious Romans. Hadrian was prevented by the cardinals in the emperor's interest from hearkening to these proposals of William; and retiring to Ferentino, heard the complaints of the patriarch of Jerusalem. This prelate, though near one hundred years of age, had come to Italy, to complain of the knights Hospitallers, who refused to pay the tythes, as they were exempted from the jurisdiction of the patriarch by a privilege of the pope. Hadrian heard both parties, but dropped the affair at that time, without any decision; and passing through Campania, went to Benevento, where, a few months after, being besieged by William, he consented to a peace, the articles of which were dictated by the king, who absolutely refused to allow any legates to enter Sicily, or any appeals from the churches in that kingdom to the apostolic see. These terms, however disagreeable, were confirmed by the pope, who likewise gave the investiture of Sicily, Apulia, and Capua, with all their dependencies, to William, upon his swearing allegiance to the holy see P. This accommodation with the king of Sicily occasioned great factions among the cardinals, which continued several years; but those of the

The pope goes to St. Germans.

A.D. 1156.

The king of Sicily besieges the pope in Benevento, and obliges him to conclude a peace.

° Otho Frising. Diplom. apud Baron.

P Willel. Tyr. lib. xviii. cap. 8. Exemp.

emperor's party dissembling their resentment at that time, they went with Hadrian to Orvieto, which never having been honoured with the presence of a pope, had revolted from its subjection to the see of Rome. Upon Hadrian's approaching the city, he was received with great honours by the inhabitants; and having continued there some time, towards the beginning of winter he returned to Rome [q].

A D. 1157. *A difference between the emperor and the pope.*

Being soon after informed that the archbishop of Lunden, in his return to Denmark, had been robbed in Germany, and was detained a prisoner till he should pay a large sum for his ransom, he sent two legates into that kingdom, with a letter to the emperor, who was then at Besançon, attended by a great many nobles. The pope in his letter expressed his astonishment that the emperor had suffered such an outrage to be committed in his kingdom, without punishing the authors, especially as, two years before, he had been so kindly received by the Roman see, from whom he had obtained the favour of the crown. At these last words the nobles who were present were greatly enraged; but while they were exclaiming against the arrogance of the pope, one of the legates called out, "Of whom then doth the emperor hold the crown, if not from the holy see?" At this question the count Palatine immediately drew his sword to attack the legate, but was prevented by the emperor, who ordered the legates immediately to quit Germany, and soon after published a letter addressed to all his subjects, justifying his conduct. The pope, offended at the little respect that had been paid to his legates, wrote to the bishops of Germany, exhorting them to admonish the emperor to turn away his evil counsellors, and to be submissive to the church.

A.D. 1158. *The pope advised to a reconciliation.*

The bishops, in their answer, acknowleged their submission to the holy see; but, at the same time, declared to his holiness, that all Germany was offended at the expression in his letter to the emperor (L), which was ambiguous, and without precedent; that they reckoned their emperor held his crown only by the divine favour; that

[q] Acta Vatic. apud Baron.

(L) The expression here referred to in the pope's letter, was the two words Beneficium Coronæ, which, as *beneficium* in those days signified *a fief* implied that Frederic held the empire as a fief of the see of Rome.

the

the firſt offence had been given by a picture (M), but that the empire was greatly alarmed to find the unprecedented claim authoriſed by writing; therefore they adviſed his holineſs to appeaſe the emperor by a ſecond letter, in more moderate terms[r]. Hadrian, finding that even the biſhops of Germany were tenacious of the honour of their crown, and that the emperor had aſſembled an army upon the Lech, near Augſburgh, with an intention of entering Italy, ſent two legates to him, who being admitted into his camp, preſented the pope's letter in a ſubmiſſive manner. In this letter the pope addreſſed the emperor in terms of affection and reſpect, and told him that at Rome, *beneficium* was never taken in the ſenſe of *a fief*, but in the proper meaning of the word as a *good deed*; he hoped, therefore, that if he had taken any umbrage at the ſee of Rome, he would have acquainted him by letters or meſſengers, and he would have taken care, that his honour ſhould have received no injury. The emperor, being appeaſed by this letter, ſettled with the legates other points that might give occaſion for future diſputes, and, when they took their leave, loaded them with rich preſents. Hadrian ſent the cardinals Arditius and Otho as his legates into Lombardy, to endeavour to reconcile the inhabitants of Milan to thoſe of Lodi, and other cities in their neighbourhood, which they oppreſſed.

Hadrian writes a ſubmiſſive letter to the emperor;

Mean while the emperor, having held a diet at Augſburgh, marched with a formidable army into Italy, and being joined by the Italian barons, with their troops, after a long ſiege, obliged the city of Milan to ſurrender at diſ-

who enters Italy with an army.

[r] Rodericus Canonicus in Fred. lib. i. cap. 8, 10, 15, 16, 17. Gunther Ligur. Poem.

(M) This was a picture hung up in the Lateran church, repreſenting the emperor Lotharius upon his knees, with his hands between the hands of the pope, after the manner of vaſſals when receiving the inveſtiture of fiefs. Underneath the picture were written the two following lines:

Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores,
Poſt homo fit papæ, ſumit quo dante coronam.

That is, "The king ſwears at the gate to maintain the honour of Rome, and becomes the vaſſal of the pope, from whom he receives the crown." Frederic, when he was at Rome, complained of this picture, upon which complaint Hadrian had promiſed it ſhould be taken down.

cretion, and deprived it of a great many of its privileges. The other cities being ſtruck with the fate of Milan, quickly ſurrendered. The emperor having reduced all Lombardy, marched to the plain of Roncalia, and, with the advice of the doctors of law in the ſchool of Bologna, and the deputies of the other cities, he determined the regalia, or prerogatives of the emperor in Italy, which, being reduced to writing, the biſhops, nobles, and deputies of the cities ſwore to obſerve them in every article. Frederic having then redreſſed the grievances of the cities, and enacted ſeveral new laws, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and putting his troops into winter quarters, repaired to Albezola, in Liguria, where he kept his Chriſtmas[s], having ſent commiſſaries into Tuſcany and the territory of Rome, to provide magazines for his march in the ſpring.

A D. 1159. Hadrian, offended at the behaviour of the commiſſaries, and diſſatisfied with the emperor, becauſe at Roncalia he had obliged the biſhops to pay homage for their fiefs, wrote him a diſreſpectful letter, complaining of the infringement of the eccleſiaſtical rights. The emperor anſwered this letter, and juſtified what he had done; but the pope ſtill continuing his complaints, and refuſing to conſecrate Guido, archbiſhop of Ravenna, although a cardinal had aſſiſted at his election, ſeveral other letters paſſed between him and the emperor, which would ſoon have occaſioned a rupture, if cardinal Henry, on the one part, and the biſhop of Bamberg, on the other, had not acted as mediators. At laſt Hadrian conſented to ſend two cardinals, with two other cardinal-deacons, to negociate an accommodation with the emperor; but their terms were ſo high, that nothing was concluded. It was then propoſed that ſix cardinals ſhould be choſen on the part of the pope, and ſix biſhops on the part of the emperor, to terminate all differences; but Hadrian rejected this propoſition, and inſiſted on renewing the peace formerly made by Eugenius III. The diſpute was at laſt in ſome meaſure terminated by the death of Hadrian, who died at Anagni, on the firſt of September (N).

New diſputes between him and the pope.

Hadrian dies.

[s] Radevic. lib. i. cap. 21, 22, 23.

(N) Hadrian granted a bull to Henry II. of England, but in what year of his pontificate is uncertain, allowing that king to make a conqueſt of Ireland, provided he paid a penny to St. Peter for every houſe in that kingdom, and ſuffered the church to enjoy all its privileges.

A few

A few days after the death of Hadrian, the cardinals assembled to chuse a successor, and, after deliberating three days, fixed upon cardinal Roland, born at Sienna, in Tuscany, who took the name of Alexander III. but two cardinals, named John and Guido, immediately after declared one cardinal Octavianus pope, by the name of Victor IV. who observing the other competitor with the papal robe, ran to him and snatched it from his shoulders; but a senator taking it from him, he called to his chaplain, who had brought a robe on purpose, and taking that robe, he hastily put it over himself with the fore part of it behind. The doors of the church being then opened, a body of armed men rushed in to his assistance. The other party being afraid lest they should be obliged by force to acknowlege Victor, retired to the castle of St. Angelo, where they were besieged for nine days by the Romans, whom Victor had corrupted. But the citizens being at last undeceived, Alexander and his party were relieved from their confinement, and retired to Nymphæ, in the neighbourhood of Rome, where he was consecrated by the bishop of Ostia, and immediately after excommunicated Victor and his adherents. Victor being likewise consecrated by some bishops that had joined him, excommunicated Alexander, and wrote to the emperor, informing him of his election. Frederic had likewise received a letter to the same purpose from Alexander; but he having distinguished himself in the late disputes by his attachment to the rights of the church, and being a known friend to the king of Sicily, the emperor inclined rather to favour Victor. However, that he might seem to act impartially, he appointed a council of bishops to assemble at Pavia, about the middle of January. He told the two competitors, that, as he could not determine which of them had the best right, he had referred their cause to the decision of a general council, and that he would acknowlege and protect him whom the council should declare to have the best right. Alexander, conscious of the validity of his election, refused to acknowlege a council not convoked by himself, and in the mean time sent legates into the different kingdoms of Europe and the East, informing them of his promotion to the Roman see, and of the intrusion of Victor[t].

A schism in the church

Alexander III. is elected.

The emperor favours the anti-pope Victor;

[t] Radevic. ibid. Willel. Tyr. lib. xviii. cap. 19.

The

who is declared pope by the council of Pavia. A.D.1160.

The council assembling at Pavia, on the second of February, Victor appeared, and referred his cause to their determination. After consulting seven days, they declared him pope, and conducted him from St. Salvator's church, without the city, where he lodged, to the diocesan church, where the emperor received him; and, having held the stirrup of his horse while he alighted, led him to the altar, and kissed his feet. Next day the council again assembled, and, with lighted candles, excommunicated Alexander and his adherents. In the mean time Alexander held a council of the bishops and cardinals of his party, at Anagni, in which he denounced a sentence of excommunication against the emperor, if he continued to acknowlege the anti-pope. He likewise wrote to Arnulph, bishop of Lisieux, in Normandy, acquainting him with his election, and the proceedings of the council of Pavia; upon which Arnulph wrote a letter, addressed to all the archbishops and bishops in France, exhorting them to adhere to Alexander, who being acknowleged by his master the king of England, the following year received an embassy from him concerning the canonization of king Edward, who had been dead almost a hundred years. The pope, in consideration of the many miracles wrought by that prince, during his life and since his death, granted a bull, allowing him to be numbered among the holy confessors, and exhorting the English to be very fervent in worshipping his body[u].

A.D.1161.

Alexander III. canonizes Edward formerly king of England.

At this period, Peter, archbishop of Tarantaise, who had distinguished himself in France by his attachment to Alexander, arrived in Italy, and after having defended the cause of Alexander in the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany, was sent as his legate into France, the pope designing to sail in person for that kingdom, as he could not live in safety in Rome, upon account of the party of the emperor, who had now possessed all the territory of St. Peter, except Orvieto and Anagni. Upon Peter's arrival in France, the kings of France and England, having lately concluded a peace, held a council, each in his own dominions, and examining the pretensions of the two competitors, acknowleged Alexander as pope[w]. In the mean time Victor held a council at Lodi, which confirmed what had been ordained in the former year at Pavia, and received letters from the kings of Denmark, Norway, Hungary,

And is acknowleged by the kings of France and England.

[u] Exemplar. Diplom. apud Sur. tom. iii. [w] Baronii Annal.

gary, and Bohemia, and from many archbishops and bishops in those kingdoms, who acknowleged Victor as pope. This council likewise excommunicated the archbishop and consuls of Milan, with the bishops and consuls of Placenza and Brescia, and also all those who had been concerned in the murder of Arnold, archbishop of Mentz.

The party of the emperor growing every day more powerful in Italy, Alexander left that kingdom, and on the first of January sailed for France, where he was received with great respect. The emperor finding that Alexander's cause was espoused by the kings of France and England, and being afraid that he should not be able to establish Victor, he proposed to the king of France to have a conference at Avignon, and that a council should be assembled in that city, of the German, French, and Italian bishops, to determine the cause of the popes, and that the two competitors should appear personally to justify their pretensions. The king of France agreed to this proposal, which was mentioned by the emperor only with a design to lay both the competitors aside. The council accordingly assembled on the day appointed; but Alexander absolutely refusing to appear, and the emperor wanting provisions for his army, he was obliged to retire, and the council broke up without coming to any conclusion [x]. In the mean time Alexander proceeded to Tours, where he continued several months, and celebrated his Christmas. About the beginning of Lent he went to Paris, where he had a conference with the king of France; and having celebrated his Easter in that city, he again set out for Tours, where he had appointed a council to be held about the middle of May.

A.D. 1162.

He is forced to quit Italy;

and refuses to submit to a council called by the emperor.

A.D. 1163.

The council consisted of seventeen cardinals, one hundred and twenty-four bishops, and a great number of inferior clergy. Among the dignified clergy was Thomas Becket, who the year before had succeeded to the see of Canterbury. The pope received him with singular respect, having ordered all the cardinals, except two, to meet him without the gates, and conduct him into the city. After a long discourse made by Arnulphus, bishop of Lisieux, the council excommunicated Victor and his adherents; and made several canons, condemning usury in the clergy, and prohibiting them to practise law or physic. They likewise annulled all the ordinations made by Octavianus

A council held at Tours.

[x] Newbrigens. tom. ii. cap. 14.

and

and the ſchiſmatics, and prohibited the hiring of annual curates, as contrary to the decrees of the fathers. The council being diſmiſſed, Alexander retired to the city of Sens, which he made the place of his abode while he continued in France. Hearing that Thomas Becket had incurred the diſpleaſure of the king of England for refuſing to deliver up a prieſt that had killed a man, and for not conſenting to ſwear to obſerve the king's prerogatives, he wrote to encourage him to be ſtedfaſt in the defence of the rights of the church[y]. Mean while Octavianus, with thoſe of his party, arriving at Lodi, aſſiſted in tranſporting the body of St. Baſſianus from the old to the new city, in the preſence of the emperor and empreſs, with the patriarch of Aquileia, and many biſhops and abbots[z].

A.D 1164. In the following year Alexander, being informed that the archbiſhop of Canterbury had been compelled, by the threats of the king and nobles of England, to ſwear faithfully to obſerve the royal cuſtoms, he wrote to him, abſolving him from his oath. The king being informed of this abſolution, ſent an embaſſy to the pope, deſiring him to confirm the decree of the ſtates, obliging eccleſiaſtics to ſwear to obſerve the royal cuſtoms; and likewiſe intreating him to appoint the archbiſhop of York as his legate in England. The pope, by the neceſſity of his affairs, not daring wholly to diſoblige the king, appointing the archbiſhop of York as his legate, but would not confirm the decree of the ſtates, and even reſtrained the juriſdiction of the legate to his own ſee. The king, not ſatified with the pope, ordered the bull, appointing the archbiſhop of York as legate, to be returned; and cited the archbiſhop of Canterbury, upon an accuſation of miſdemeanours during his chancellorſhip; but Thomas refuſing to acknowlege the juriſdiction of the court, appealed to the ſee of Rome; and ſoon after quitting the kingdom, wrote to Alexander, informing him of the perſecution he had ſuffered, and imploring his protection; in conſequence of which letter he received another from the pope, annulling all that had been done againſt him in England.

A difference betwixt him and the king of England.

During theſe tranſactions the anti-pope Victor dying at Lucca, his party, deſpairing of a reconciliation with Alexander, elected cardinal Guido of Crema as his ſucceſſor; who took the name of Paſchal III. and was acknowleged by the emperor. In the mean time the archbiſhop of

The emperor acknowleges the anti-pope's ſucceſſor.

[y] Exempt. Epiſt. Alex. apud Baronium. [z] Otho Morena, in Laudenſi Chron.

York,

York, and the bishops of London and Chester, arrived at Sens; and having accused the archbishop of Canterbury to the pope, desired his holiness to send a legate a latere into England, to determine the dispute betwixt the king and that prelate. The pope refused to grant their request, but sent for Thomas to his court, to judge him in person, and desired the English ambassadors to be present at his trial; but they refused, and immediately departed without the apostolical benediction. Thomas, upon his arrival at Sens, was received with great affection by the pope; and having informed him of his opposition to the king of England, which, he alleged, proceeded from his zeal for the honour of the church, he presented to his holiness a copy of the constitutions, consisting of sixteen articles, which he had sworn to observe. The pope having read the paper, condemned ten of the articles; and having confirmed Thomas in his archbishoprick, he sent him to the monastery of Pontiniac, where he took the habit of a monk, and lived according to their rules [a].

While these transactions passed in France and England, A.D. 1165. some cities of Lombardy, driven to despair by the exactions of the emperor's officers, entered into an association against him, with the republic of Venice; and Frederic being unsuccessful in his attempt to reduce them, cardinal John, who had lately succeeded Julius as pope's vicar in Rome, prevailed with the Romans to join the confederacy, and to invite pope Alexander to return to his own see. In the mean time Alexander was endeavouring to effect a reconciliation betwixt the king of England and the archbishop of Canterbury. A conference was proposed between the pope and Henry; but the king refusing to allow the archbishop to be present, Thomas dissuaded his holiness from meeting the king; so that the hopes of a reconciliation at that time vanished. Alexander having canonized Helena, a widow of great sanctity among the Visigoths, and Canute, the father of Waldemar, king of Denmark, set out on his return for Rome, after celebrating his Easter at Sens. The archbishop of Canterbury accompanied his holiness as far as Berry, where Alexander dismissed him with his apostolic benediction, and then proceeded to Montpelier, from whence he sailed to Messina in Sicily. Upon the news of his arrival, William, king of Sicily, sent him magnificent presents, and ordered five gallies to conduct him to Rome, for which city he

An association is formed against the emperor.

[a] Vita S. Thom. Alanus in quadripartit.

sailed

failed in the month of November. Arriving at Ostia, he was received next day by the senators and nobles, with a great body of the clergy and people, who conducted him with branches of olive-trees to the Lateran palace [b].

The emperor swears never to acknowlege Alexander.

The emperor hearing of the pope's departure for Italy, endeavoured to seize him at sea, by the assistance of the Pisan fleet; but being disappointed in his design, he held a diet at Wurtzburgh, at which were present the deputies of the king of England, who, together with the emperor, and many of the nobles and bishops of Germany, swore never to acknowlege pope Alexander or his successor, and to protect and defend Paschal III. and his successors. The king of England refused his approbation to this transaction of his deputies; but the emperor published an edict, ordering all his subjects to take the same oath within six weeks, and that pope Paschal should be prayed for through all the empire. He likewise sent the archbishops of Cologn and Mentz, with a considerable army, into Italy; and soon after following himself with another army, he was joined in Lombardy by the Italian auxiliaries. He directed his march to Lodi, where he held an assembly of the Italian and German nobles, and heard the complaints of many of the cities of Lombardy against the grievous exactions of his commissaries. From Lodi he marched against Ancona, which the Greeks had taken possession of; and while he was engaged in the siege of that place, he ordered the two archbishops to march towards Tusculum, to assist the anti-pope to take possession of Rome.

A.D 1167.

Enters Italy with an army.

Having in three weeks obliged the city of Ancona to surrender, he advanced with his army towards Rome, and joined the anti-pope Paschal at Viterbo, the two archbishops with the other army having lately returned to that city, after a signal victory which they had obtained over the Romans. From Viterbo Frederic marched to Rome, and, after a vigorous attack, made himself master of the Leonine city and St. Peter's church, where the emperor and empress Beatrice were crowned by the anti-pope Paschal [c]. William, king of Sicily, who the year before had succeeded his father, hearing of the danger to which the pope was exposed, sent two gallies, with a large sum of money, to his assistance. The pope sent back the gallies, but accepted of the money, which he distributed among the Ro-

Is crowned at Rome.

[b] Vita Alex. ex Card. Arragon. apud Murator. tom. iii.
[c] Sigon. lib. xiv. p. 321. Otho Morena de Gestis Fred.

mans,

mans, to encourage them in his defence. But they preſſing him to agree to the propoſal of the emperor, who offered to prevail with Paſchal to reſign, on condition that Alexander ſhould abdicate the pontificate, the pope, to avoid the ſolicitations of the people on that point, fled from the city in the habit of a pilgrim, and retired to Benevento[d]. A few days after his departure, the heats became ſo violent as to occaſion a ſudden mortality amongſt the emperor's troops. Several of his chief officers dying, and likewiſe great numbers of the common men, he immediately quitted the city, and leaving the anti-pope at Viterbo, marched with all ſpeed for Pavia, having on his road loſt two thouſand men by the diſtemper, the army alſo continuing ſickly and infirm during the whole winter.

Retires with great loſs to Lombardy.

During theſe tranſactions the king of England wrote to the college of cardinals, diſclaiming the proceedings of his deputies at the diet of Wurtzburgh; but at the ſame time he refuſed to recall the archbiſhop of Canterbury, as he had not expelled him the kingdom: however, if he pleaſed to return, and ſatisfy legally the charges that were laid againſt him, he promiſed that he ſhould enjoy his archbiſhoprick in peace. The pope wrote to the biſhop of London, deſiring him and his brethren to adviſe the king to recall the archbiſhop, and not to oppreſs the church; in anſwer to which letter the biſhops wrote to Alexander, that the king offered to give all reaſonable indulgence to the clergy, but obſtinately refuſed to recall the archbiſhop. The biſhops, likewiſe, in their letter, far from alleging with the archbiſhop, that the church was aggrieved, declared that the king ſeemed to juſtify his cauſe, and adviſed his holineſs not to proceed to an interdict or excommunication, but rather to ſoften the king by mildneſs, as a breach with the holy ſee was deſired by a great many in the kingdom. This letter had not the deſired effect with the pope; who, to ſhew his approbation of the behaviour of the archbiſhop, ſoon after created him his legate a latere in England.

The king of England refuſes to recall the archbiſhop of Canterbury;

who is created pope's legate in England.

The new legate immediately annulled the articles compoſed under the title of Royal Conſtitutions, and excommunicated the authors and obſervers of them. He alſo excommunicated ſeveral perſons by name, and wrote to the pope, informing him, that he propoſed likewiſe to ex-

[d] Romuald. Chron. Salern. Vita Alex. ex Card. Aragon.

com-

communicate the king, if he did not give satisfaction. This conduct greatly irritated the people of England. Thomas still continuing in France, his suffragan bishops wrote to him, that they had appealed from his sentence to the apostolic see; and that, by denouncing a sentence of excommunication before he had judged any one, he had discovered more heat of passion than respect for justice. Thomas, in justification of himself, wrote a long letter to the bishops, in a haughty and overbearing style, and, from a warm confidence of being himself in the right, insisted strongly on those topics that seemed to condemn his adversaries. Soon after, the bishops neglecting to appear at Benevento on the day mentioned in their appeal, the pope confirmed the decrees of Thomas, and wrote to the bishops of England, enjoining them obedience at their peril. The king, who was then in Normandy, finding that the protection of the pope rendered the archbishop more confident, sent an embassy to Benevento, desiring his holiness to appoint cardinal William of Pavia as his legate in England, who was the king's intimate friend. The pope being deceived by the promises of the king's ambassador, who was likewise liberal in dispensing his gold, appointed cardinal William as his legate in England; but, as a check upon him, named Otho, a cardinal-deacon, as his colleague. These transactions greatly afflicted the archbishop of Canterbury, who declared, that he would not submit his cause to the decision of cardinal William, who sought his life.

A.D. 1168.

Two legates are appointed to decide the difference between him and the king of England.

The two legates arriving in France in their way to England, wrote to Thomas, informing him of their commission, but they received very different answers from the archbishop. To cardinal William he had wrote a letter, which John of Salisbury advised him to suppress, as being full of bitterness and rancour; he therefore wrote another in a more moderate style. To the other legate he wrote in very affectionate terms, declaring his confidence in his virtue and integrity. In the mean time Alexander, finding that he had been imposed upon by the king of England's ambassadors, wrote to his legates, prohibiting them from entering England till they had composed the difference betwixt the king and the archbishop, and not allowing them to act in a judiciary manner, but by way of mediation. He also wrote to the archbishop to humble himself, and agree to such terms as could then be obtained, in hopes of better afterwards. Nothing was effected at the first conference, which was held on the borders of Normandy

Normandy on the 18th of November; but the king of England having obtained from the holy see a suspension of the archbishop's authority, Thomas wrote in very bitter terms both to the pope and college of cardinals, and also sent a letter to his nuncio at Rome, desiring him to use his utmost endeavours to have the legates recalled. The pope, not satisfied with their proceedings, immediately ordered them to return to Italy, and revoked their commission; so that nothing farther was transacted in the dispute at that time [e].

The pope revokes their commission.

Mean while the emperor, upon his disgraceful retreat from Rome, having been excommunicated by the pope, and finding himself unable, with the remains of his army, to oppose the confederate cities of Lombardy, pretended to incline to a reconciliation with Alexander. But the count of Moriene allowing him a passage through his territories, he escaped with the wreck of his army into Burgundy, not without considerable loss, the Italians pursuing him and harrassing him in his march [f]. While the emperor was reduced to these extremities, the anti-pope Paschal was besieged in Rome, having been received by the senators into the Leonine city, on the north of the Tyber, on condition of restoring the hostages whom they had been obliged to deliver to the emperor. The senators were either not able or not willing to procure him the favour of the Romans; for soon after his entering the city, he was besieged by them in the tower of Stephen Theobald.

The emperor flies into Germany.

Though they refused to acknowlege Paschal, yet they would not admit Alexander, who had advanced to Tusculum, to protect that city from their violence, they having resolved to burn it, as they had done Alba, in revenge for the assistance those cities had given to the imperial army under the command of the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne. The Romans attacked the city for some time without success; upon which they pretended to be reconciled to the pope, and promised to admit him into their city, on condition that he would order the fortifications of Tusculum to be destroyed. Alexander, trusting to their promises, caused the walls to be razed; but the Romans still refusing to admit him into their city, he repaired the fortifications of Tusculum, and, leaving a strong garrison in that city, retired with his court to Anagni, where he continued a considerable time [g]. He there received

Alexander protects the city of Tusculum.

A.D. 1163.

[e] Epist. Joan. Sarisberiens. & aliorum, apud Baron. [f] See the History of the German Empire. [g] Sigon. lib. xiv. p. 324.

ceived an embassy from the king of England, who, having had an unsuccessful conference with the archbishop of Canterbury in the presence of the king of France, had sent to desire his holiness to translate him to some other benefice; but, though he had bribed the inhabitants of Parma, Cremona and Milan, and the king of Sicily, to solicit in his behalf, and had offered ten thousand marks to the see of Rome, the pope would only consent to send two nuncios to mediate a peace, and limited the time of their commission to the term of Michaelmas.

Sends two nuncios to mediate a peace between the king of England and the archbishop of Canterbury.

After several conferences with the nuncios, the king at last declared, that, for the sake of his lord the pope, he would allow the archbishop, and all those who were banished on his account, to return to England, saving, nevertheless, the dignity of the kingdom. This last clause, which the nuncios would by no means agree to, prevented the peace from being concluded within the limited time, so that their journey proved ineffectual. The pope, to hasten a reconciliation before the return of the nuncios, had sent others, with letters to the king, threatening to lay his kingdom under an interdict, unless he was reconciled to the archbishop before Lent. This embassy likewise had no effect; for the king still insisted on the former clause, which was as stiffly objected to by the archbishop, who, on his part, proposed the clause of "saving the honour of God, and the privileges of his sacred order." The king rejecting this, Alexander again allowed the archbishop to exercise the functions of his office, without a liberty of appeal, in case the peace was not concluded before the beginning of Lent. In the mean time he received from the king of Hungary a full resignation of his right to the revenue of vacant benefices, and a promise not to depose or translate bishops without the consent of the holy see. He likewise received an embassy from the soltan of Iconium, who, having turned Christian, had sent to the pope, desiring to be more fully instructed in the truths of religion. The pope wrote to him in an affectionate manner, and sent him a catechism of the Christian faith, which is still extant [h].

A.D. 1170. In the beginning of the following year he sent other two legates to the king of England, threatening to lay his dominions on the continent under an interdict, if the peace was not concluded within the limited time. Being informed likewise, that the king of England proposed to

Alexander sends other two legates to the king of England;

[h] Inter Tract. Petr. Blessensis.

crown

crown his son by the hands of the archbishop of York, he wrote to that prelate, and all the other bishops of England, forbidding them at their peril from being concerned in that ceremony; which letter so enraged the king, that he commanded the bishops to promise by an oath, not to obey the constitutions of the pope or the archbishop of Canterbury; which condition the greatest part of them agreeing to, the coronation was accordingly performed on the 24th of June. The pope, offended with this proceeding, wrote to the king, declaring absolutely, that if he was not reconciled to the archbishop by a certain day, his kingdom would be laid under an interdict.

who agrees to a reconciliation.

The king, to avoid the sentence, immediately offered to the legates to accept of a peace under any form they should prescribe. A few days after, they bringing the archbishop with them to the conference, he was reconciled to him in a most generous manner, and immediately admitted him to his former familiarity, as though there never had been any dispute betwixt them. The pope being informed of the concession of the king, immediately laid aside his former reserve, occasioned by his apprehension lest Henry should join the party of the anti-pope; and, to shew his displeasure at the clergy of England for favouring the king, he suspended the archbishop of York, and excommunicated several bishops, particularly the bishops of London and Salisbury. He likewise wrote to his legates in Normandy, ordering them to lay the king's dominions on the continent under an interdict, if he did not annul the constitutions, and entirely fulfil the terms of the peace. Thomas also insisted, that, before he should return to England, all that had been seized from the archbishoprick of Canterbury should be restored; but the king absolutely refusing to agree to a restitution till after his return, he proceeded directly for England. Having, by his long opposition to the king and the constitutions of the kingdom, become odious to the people, a few weeks after his return he was murdered in the church of Canterbury, by four gentlemen, who went from Normandy for that purpose, upon hearing the king exclaim against him as a turbulent person [i].

The archbishop of Canterbury murdered.

The emperor of Constantinople asks the imperial crown.

At this period Emanuel, emperor of Constantinople, sent an embassy to the pope, with immense presents, offering to unite the Greek church with the Roman, and to acknowlege the superiority of the pope, provided he

[i] Herebertus in Quadrapartita. Roger. in Annal. Anglic.

would confer upon him the imperial crown, which the Germans had so long usurped. The pope declared, that the decrees of the ancient fathers would not allow him to consent to his demand; and, upon the return of the ambassador, sent with him two cardinals to the Greek emperor [k].

About the same time the anti-pope Paschal died at Rome, and his party, then very despicable, chose for his successor John, abbot of Surmio, who had been created bishop of Albano by the anti-pope. Frederic, after some deliberation, condescended to acknowlege him, but, finding that the cities of Lombardy were strictly united to pope Alexander, he despaired of reducing them to obedience till he had made his peace with him. He therefore sent the bishop of Bamberg, as his deputy, to the pope, with express orders that he should confer only with his holiness. Alexander, that he might give no umbrage to the associated cities of Lombardy, sent for a representative from each city to be present in the consistory: after condescending to hear the deputy apart, according to his instructions, he explained his negociation in a full consistory, and told him, that, as the terms proposed by the emperor were ambiguous, he could not agree to a peace.

A.D. 1171.

The emperor sends an embassy to the pope.

Soon after the pope was informed by various messengers of the murder of the archbishop of Canterbury, and likewise received an embassy from the king of England to justify himself from having had any concern in the murder. Alexander, for some time, would not see the English ambassadors, and they were even received by the cardinals with great coldness. Being at last admitted to an audience, they endeavoured to justify the king; and, to prevent his kingdoms from being laid under an interdict, they swore, in his name, that he would submit to the sentence of the pope. Alexander being appeased by this oath, excommunicated the murderers of the archbishop, and all who supported and protected them, and sent two legates to examine the king, and to receive his submission. Upon their arrival in Normandy the king cleared himself by an oath from having had any concern in the murder, and promised to submit to any penance they should prescribe. They then enjoined him to send two hundred men, for one year, into the Holy land, or as much money as would maintain two hundred soldiers at three hundred crowns each; to repeal the statutes of Clarendon, and restore all

A.D. 1172.

Alexander sends two legates to examine into the murder of the archbishop of Canterbury.

[k] Vita Alex. ex Card. Arrag. apud Murator. tom. iii.

the

the poſſeſſions of the ſee of Canterbury; to grant free appeals to the ſee of Rome; that he ſhould go himſelf three years to the Holy Land; and, if the pope deſired it, ſhould make an expedition into Spain againſt the Moors. The king ſwearing to fulfil theſe articles, he went with the legates to the door of the church, and, kneeling down, was abſolved by them, and afterwards conducted into the church. Next day the legates celebrated a council with the biſhops and clergy of Normandy, in which it was decreed, that children ſhould not be admitted to the government of churches; that the ſons of prieſts ſhould not inherit the churches of their fathers; that clergymen ſhould not intermeddle in the adminiſtration of ſecular affairs; and that churches ſhould not be committed to annual curates. Having diſmiſſed the council, they wrote to the miniſters of the church of Canterbury, in conſequence of a mandate from the pope, deſiring them to ſprinkle the church with holy water, as the ſacrament of dedication ought not to be repeated [l].

The pope in vain endeavours to enter Rome.

Mean while Alexander, reſiding at Tuſculum, endeavoured to prevail with the Romans to admit him into their city; but the ſenators favouring the party of the emperor, would not hearken to his requeſt; ſo that he retired from Tuſculum, and went into Campania, where the murderers of Thomas Becket came to him in a penitent manner, deſiring abſolution of their crime. The pope, inſtead of committing them to the civil power, ordered them as a penance, to go and ſpend the reſt of their days in the Holy Land. One of them died before they left Italy, and the other three ſurvived only two years.

A.D. 1173.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury is canonized.

The legates returning from the king of England, and reporting the numerous miracles that were performed at the tomb of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the pope canonized him, and enrolled him among the martyrs, ordering the 29th of December, the day of his death, to be every year celebrated in a ſolemn manner [m]. Soon after, he received a letter from the king of England, aſking his aſſiſtance againſt his rebel ſon, whom he had aſſociated with himſelf in the kingdom three years before. Henry acknowleging his kingdom as ſubject to the juriſdiction of Rome, Alexander publiſhed a mandate, ordering, that whoever ſhould diſturb the peace of the king, ſhould be excommunicated, without liberty of appeal. The arch-

[l] Baronii Annales ad ann. 1172.

[m] Vita Alex. apud Murator. tom. iii.

bishop of Canterbury, supported by this authority, immediately excommunicated the rebels, the young king not excepted. Henry, that he might have the favour of the new saint, left Normandy, and, entering the city of Canterbury barefooted, and covered only with a coarse cloak, went to the tomb of the martyr, where he continued all that day, and the following night, and then calling the monks to him, he underwent the discipline of flagellation.

A.D. 1175. *The emperor enters Italy.*

In the mean time the emperor Frederic entered Italy, for the fifth time, with a formidable army, and laid siege to the new city of Alexandria, which was only fortified with a rampart of earth. The Imperial army being greatly incommoded with heavy rains, and the winter approaching, Frederic changed the siege into a blockade, and employed his army, in the mean time, in carrying on a mine into the city, which being finished about the following Easter, he resolved to give a general attack: but the besieged killing those that had taken possession of the mine, and, at the same time, making a general sally against the Imperialists, defeated them, and obliged them to retire to Chiastera. Frederic, not thinking himself safe at that place, passed the Po, and retired to the neighbourhood of Pavia; and as his army was greatly weakened by the late defeat, and by the departure of Henry the Lion with his troops, he proposed to enter into a negociation with the see of Rome and the confederate cities of Lombardy.

A.D. 1176. *A peace proposed, but without effect.*

The pope, at the desire of the consuls of Cremona, who were the mediators, sent three legates to Pavia; but, after a few conferences, each party being high in their demands, the legates returned to the pope, without concluding any thing. Alexander, in the mean time, to punish the city of Pavia for its adherence to the emperor, deprived the bishop of the dignity of the cross and pall; and, as a reward for the bravery of the Alexandrians, he erected their city into a bishoprick, creating Arduin, a sub-deacon of the Roman church, their first bishop. Frederic, being afraid lest William, king of Sicily, should be persuaded by the pope to assist the confederate cities of Lombardy, proposed to conclude an alliance with him, and to give him his daughter in marriage; but William being prevented from agreeing to this match by the pope, the emperor, having received considerable succours from Germany, determined to try the fortune of another engagement. As he was marching towards the confederates, he was attacked by them at Lignano, and, after an obsti-

nate

nate dispute, entirely defeated; the Italians making themselves masters of his camp, and pursuing the Germans for eight miles. *Frederic is entirely defeated.*

This considerable loss, and the murmuring of his general officers, who refused to serve any longer unless he was reconciled to the pope, prevailed with the emperor seriously to think of an accommodation with Alexander. Accordingly Christian, archbishop of Mentz, with several others, were sent as ambassadors, with proposals of peace, to the pope, who received them with joy. After close conferences for fifteen days, the articles of peace betwixt the emperor and the pope were agreed to; but as his holiness insisted that the cities of Lombardy and the king of Sicily should be comprehended in the peace, a truce for six years was granted to these cities; and it was resolved that Alexander should have a conference with the emperor in Lombardy. In the mean time safe-conducts were granted by the emperor to all persons of the Roman church [n]. *Proposes a peace.*

The pope desiring the king of Sicily to send some of his ministers to accompany him, was joined by Romuald, archbishop of Salerno, and Roger, count of Andria; and sailing on the 9th of March from Liciana, with twelve gallies and two other ships, arrived in a few days at Venice, where he continued fifteen days, and was treated with the greatest respect by the doge and nobles. From Venice he went by sea to Loretto, and from thence, going up the Po, arrived, on Easter Sunday, at Ferrara, the place appointed for the conferences. A few days after his arrival at that city, the archbishop of Mentz, with six other persons, came as deputies on the part of the emperor. After some disputes it was agreed, that the congress should be held at Venice: accordingly the pope and the deputies removed thither about the end of May; but not being able to come to any conclusion, the pope, at length, consented to allow the emperor to enter the city, who, arriving about the middle of July, was absolved from the sentence of excommunication, and, after prostrating himself at the pope's feet, received the kiss of peace. On the first of August, the articles of peace being agreed upon, all the parties concerned swore to fulfil them, the emperor promising a six years truce to A.D. 1177. *The pope goes to Venice, where peace is concluded.*

[n] Romuald. Salern. Chron. Sigon. lib. xiv. p. 333. Vita Alex. apud Murator. tom. iii.

the cities of Lombardy, a peace for fifteen years with the king of Sicily, and a perpetual peace with the church [o]. The pope, a few days after, held a council at Venice, where the above peace was confirmed, and a sentence of excommunication denounced against those who should infringe any of its articles. The council likewise excommunicated all those who still adhered to the anti-pope.

SECT. VI.

Containing an Account of a new Crusade; and Measures taken against the Albigenses.

The pope writes to the emperor of Abyssinia;

ALEXANDER having dismissed the council, wrote to the emperor of Abyssinia, commonly called Prester John; and having given the letter to one Philip, his physician and ambassador, who had left Europe to reside in those parts, he, according to the emperor's desire, appointed the church of St. Stephen for the residence of his subjects who should come to Rome. Having then obtained four gallies from the doge of Venice, he left that city, and arrived by sea at Siponto, on the 28th of October, from whence he proceeded to Traja and Benevento, and at length arrived at Anagni on the 20th of December. During these transactions in Italy, Alexander sent a legate into Denmark, who conferred the archbishoprick of Lunden on Absalon, bishop of Roschild, which is the first example of one person possessing two churches; but, however unjustifiable, it was frequently imitated by following popes [p].

A D. 1178.

and receives the submission of the Romans.

The Romans, finding that the emperor was reconciled to the pope, and reflecting on the great loss they had suffered by his absence from the city, sent seven of their chief men, with letters from the clergy, senate, and people, inviting him to return. Alexander at first refused; but the Romans giving security to deliver up the church of St. Peter, and the regalia of the city, into his hands, he left Tusculum, and arrived, amidst the acclamations of the people, at the Lateran palace. The antipope finding himself forsaken by the emperor, who now put his followers to the ban of the empire, and seeing the Romans

[o] Vita Alex. apud Murator. tom. iii. Baronii Annales ad ann. 1177. [p] Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv. in fin.

reconciled

reconciled to Alexander, privately left Viterbo, and with a few of his clergy came and threw himself at the feet of the pope, acknowleging his error. Alexander, being of a humane disposition, received him without any reproaches, and not only detained him in his court, but honoured him with his table [q]. In the mean time he appointed a general council to be held the following year at Rome, to which he not only invited the bishops in Europe, but likewise those of Asia and the Greek church. He likewise, at the desire of the kings of England and France, sent a legate with several bishops to Thoulouse, to convert the heretics of that province to the Roman faith. Some of the chief men of the province being condemned of Arianism and Manicheism, and their estates confiscated, many others were prevailed upon to renounce their tenets, and be reconciled to the church.

Mean while the day for holding the general council being arrived, three hundred bishops assembled in the Lateran church on the 5th of March, and, in order to prevent any future schism, they decreed, that no pope should be deemed duly elected who had not the voices of two-thirds of the cardinals in his favour. They likewise condemned all ordinations made by the anti-popes Octavianus, Guido, and John, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the heretics in Gascony, Arragon, Navarre, Thoulouse, and Albigeois. The council also deprived many of the German bishops, who had been ordained by the anti-popes or their adherents. Complaints were likewise laid before them of some doctrines maintained by Peter, the Lombard, professor at Paris; upon which Alexander wrote to the archbishop of Sens, desiring to assemble his suffragans, and to condemn the doctrines. A.D. 1179. *A general council held at Rome.*

Having dismissed the council, he conferred the title of king on Alphonsus, duke of Portugal, in consideration of his exploits against the Moors; for which favour Alphonsus put his kingdom under the protection of the holy see, to which he bound himself and his successors to pay yearly four marks of gold [r]. The pope likewise created Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, who had been present at the council, his legate in Ireland, where that prelate distinguished himself in reforming the vices of his clergy, to whom, if they were guilty of incontinency, he refused absolution; so that soon after a hundred and forty priests, *Alexander confers the title of king on the duke of Portugal.*

[q] Romuald. Salern. Chron. Baronii Annales. [r] Baronii Annales.

con-

convicted of that crime, came from Ireland to Rome, to be absolved by the pope.

A.D.1180. In the course of the following year, the bishop of Alexandria being dead, the pope translated thither the bishop of Acqui; and being informed of a schism in the election of the archbishop of St. Andrews, in Scotland, he sent a legate into that kingdom, who deposed Hugh, who had intruded into the see, and confirmed the election of John Scot, the other competitor. The king, who favoured Hugh, immediately banished John, on which account the pope wrote to him, threatening his kingdom with an interdict, if he did not recall the archbishop. The king neglecting the admonition of the pope, the archbishop of York, as legate of the pope in Scotland, excommunicated him, and laid his kingdom under an interdict. Mean while Alexander, hearing of the great preparations of Saladine against Jerusalem, published a letter, addressed to all the faithful, exhorting them to march to the assistance of their brethren in Asia. The danger of the Christians, represented by the letter, had such an effect on the kings of France and England, that they promised as soon as possible to undertake the holy expedition (O).

The king of Scotland is excommunicated.

A.D.1181. Alexander dying in the month of August, the cardinals unanimously elected cardinal Hubald, bishop of Ostia, who took the name of Lucius III. and having received a congratulatory embassy from his native city of Lucca, he granted them, with the consent of the emperor, the privilege of coining money, to be current in Tuscany, the March of Ancona, Romaniola, and Campania. A few months after his promotion, he received an embassy from William, king of Scotland, entreating to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication. Lucius granted his demand, and took off the interdict from his kingdom; but at the same time sent two legates into Scotland to reconcile the king to the archbishop of St. Andrews. William proposed, that Hugh, who had been deposed by Alexander, should abjure the archbishoprick, and that John likewise should resign, and accept of the bishoprick of Dunkeld; but this accommodation was prevented by Hugh,

Alexander dies, and is succeeded by Lucius III.

(O) The order of Carmelite friars was first instituted during the pontificate of Alexander; but in what year is uncertain. The author of the order was Haimericus, patriarch of Antioch, and legate of the holy see, who collected the pilgrims that were in the Holy Land into a body, and led them to Mount Carmel.

who

who refused to abjure, and appealed to the Roman see[s]. Mean while the Maronites, a people inhabiting the neighbourhood of Mount Libanus, in Syria, renounced their distinguishing tenets, and embraced the faith of the church of Rome, in which they were remarkable for their perseverance[t], as appears by their letters afterwards written to Leo X.

In the following year Lucius, endeavouring to restrain the power of the Roman senate, and to protect the city of Tusculum from their resentment, was expelled from Rome, and retiring to Veletri, determined the cause betwixt the competitors for the archbishoprick of St. Andrews, confirming Hugh in the archbishoprick, and giving the bishoprick of Dunkeld to John. From Veletri Lucius proceeded to Verona, where he received the ambassadors of the king of England, who desired his intercession with the emperor Frederic to recall Henry the Lion, who had been put to the ban of the empire. At Verona he likewise celebrated a council, in which it was ordained, that the bishops, once or twice a year, should visit those parts of their dioceses that were suspected of heresies. During the session of the council, the emperor arrived at Verona, to have a conference with his holiness, and entreated him to confirm the ordinations of those who had been ordained by the schismatics, during the pontificate of Alexander. Lucius not agreeing to his demand, they proceeded to treat of the succession of the countess Mathilda, the superiority of which the emperor pretended was left to the empire; but as each party claimed time to justify their pretensions, that affair was left undecided[u].

A.D. 1183. *He is obliged to quit Rome.*

A.D. 1185. *He celebrates a council at Verona.*

The pope likewise differing with the emperor in regard to the schism at the late election to the archbishoprick of Triers, and refusing to give the imperial crown to his eldest son, Frederic would not hearken to his solicitations in favour of Henry the Lion; and taking his leave of him, went to Milan, where, with great solemnity, his son was crowned king of Italy. Lucius still continued at Verona; and receiving an embassy from the princes in Palestine, intreating the assistance of the European princes, he sent the ambassadors with letters to the kings of England and France, exhorting them to that holy expedition. Henry,

A difference between him and the emperor.

[s] Rogerii Annal. Ang. Baronii Annales [t] Willel. Tyr. lib. xxii. cap. 8. [u] Arnol. Lubec. lib. iii. cap. 10. Crantz. in Metrop. lib. vi. cap. 46. in fin. & 47.

king

king of England, upon reading the pope's letter, gave leave to all his subjects, both clergy and laity, to assume the cross, which example was followed by the king of France, at the solicitation of William, archbishop of Tyre, the historian of the crusades, who continued in France, while Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, sailed into England. However, their preparations were greatly retarded by the death of Lucius, who died on the 24th of November, at Verona.

He dies at Verona.

Is succeeded by Urban III.

The cardinals who were present unanimously elected Lambert Crivelli, archbishop of Milan, who assumed the name of Urban III. and, notwithstanding his promotion to the papal chair, still retained his archbishoprick of Milan.

A.D. 1186. Urban, a few weeks after his election, was engaged in disputes with the emperor about the succession of the countess Mathilda, the revenues of vacant benefices (P) and nunneries, whose nuns he had dispersed, under pretence of their irregularities. Frederic, hoping to prevail with the pope to crown his son, pretended a willingness to accommodate these differences; but Urban, persisting in the sentiments of his predecessor, and consecrating Volemar, the competitor for the archbishoprick of Triers, whom the emperor disapproved of, Frederic was greatly enraged. Urban nevertheless persisted in his demand of satisfaction upon these points; and, in case of refusal, threatened the emperor with excommunication. Another reason of the pope's displeasure was, the alliance concluded betwixt the emperor's son and Constantia, aunt of the king of Sicily, and heiress of his kingdoms. Frederic, finding that the pope was favoured by many of the chief prelates in Germany, went into that kingdom, and shut up all the passes of the Alps, to prevent any correspondence with Italy. Having given the investiture of the temporalities of the see of Triers to Rodolphus, and expelled Berthold, bishop of Metz, for favouring Volemar, he sent for the archbishop of Cologne, and explained to him his differences with the pope; but finding the archbishop in the pope's interest, he dismissed him, and called a diet at Geilenhausen, where the bishops agreed to write to his holiness to come to an

Urban is engaged in disputes with the emperor;

who returns to Germany.

(P) As the regalia of the bishops were fiefs of the empire, Frederic, by the laws of the empire, had a right to the revenues of all benefices, from the death of the incumbent to the investiture of his successor, the benefice during that time being accounted a vacant fief, and consequently devolving to the empire.

accom-

accommodation with the emperor[w]. Urban, upon reading the letter, was confounded at the behaviour of the bishops, as it was chiefly upon their account that he had insisted upon the emperor's resigning the revenues of vacant benefices; however, persisting in his demand, he determined to excommunicate Frederic, but delayed denouncing the sentence for some time, at the intercession of the inhabitants of Verona.

During these transactions in Germany, Urban wrote to the king of Scotland to protect the bishop of Dunkeld in his privileges against the archbishop of St. Andrews. He likewise sent the pall to Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury; and, at the earnest intreaty of the king of England, he granted a bull, allowing him to create one of his sons king of Ireland, and sent him a crown of peacocks feathers interwoven with gold[x] (Q). Soon after he sent two legates into England, who had a commission to pass over into Ireland, to crown the king's son John; but Henry deferred the coronation, and carried them with him into Normandy, to be present at a conference with Philip, king of France. A.D. 1187.

The pope grants a bull for creating a king of Ireland.

In the mean time news arrived at Rome, that the soltan Saladine, after having taken a great many towns in the Holy Land, had at last made himself master of Jerusalem, and conquered the whole country, except Tyre, Tripoli, Antioch, and a few castles. It was likewise reported, that he had made an alliance with the emperor of Constantinople, who was to be put in possession of the Holy Land, on condition that he allowed no more Europeans to pass through his dominions into that country; and that, in consequence of this treaty, all the croises that were found in Constantinople were massacred[y]. These melancholy tidings astonished the princes of Europe, and had such an effect upon the pope, as to throw him into a languishing illness, of which he died on the 18th of October[z], at Ferrara.

The Christians defeated in the Holy Land, and Jerusalem lost.

Urban dies at Ferrara, and is succeeded by Gregory VIII. who gives indulgences for a new crusade.

Next day cardinal Albert, the chancellor, was elected, and took the name of Gregory VIII. who, during the

[w] Arnold. Lubec. lib. iii. cap. 16, 17, 18. Annal. Angl. Petr. Blef. Annales.
[x] Roger Annal.
[y] Baronii Annal.
[z] Rogerii

(Q) This year, 1186, Christianity was propagated in Livonia, and a bishoprick founded in Riga, by Meinard, canon of Sigeberg (1).

(1) Arnold. Chron. Sclavor. lib. vii. cap. 89.

short

short time of his pontificate, which continued only a month and twenty-seven days, exerted himself with great vigour for the assistance of the Christians in the Holy Land. A few days after his promotion he published a letter, addressed to all the faithful, exhorting them to assume the cross, and promising them a full remission of all their sins, with the security of all their possessions during their absence. He likewise ordered a fast to continue for five years, on certain days of the week. His zeal was greatly seconded by the college of cardinals, who unanimously entered into a resolution to renounce their luxury and wealth; to assume the cross; and after having promoted the sacred expedition by their preaching, to conduct the croises into the Holy Land. They proposed also, that a truce should be established for seven years among all Christian princes, so that whoever should make war on a Christian during that time, should be excommunicated by the pope and all the bishops of the universal church. In the mean time Gregory went to Pisa, in order to reconcile that republic with the Genoese, that their fleets might act in concert against the infidels; but being seized with a fever, he died there on the 15th of December.

A.D.1188. After a vacancy of twenty days, cardinal Paulinus, bishop of Pilastrina, a Roman by birth, succeeded to the papal dignity, and assumed the name of Clement III. He immediately sent a nuncio to the Romans, to acquaint them with his promotion, and to offer terms of accommodation. Following likewise the steps of his predecessor, he published a bull, offering plenary indulgences to all who would assume the cross; and also prescribed a form of prayer, to be used every day, for the success of the expedition. He likewise sent the bishop of Albano as his legate to the emperor, who with great alacrity seconded the designs of the pope. Being reconciled to the Roman see, he called a diet at Mentz, where he received the cross from the hands of the bishop of Wurtzburgh, and wrote a letter to the soltan, threatening him with war, if he did not evacuate the Holy Land, and deliver up the true cross. As his letter was written in a haughty style, and filled with the names of the princes and states of Europe, whom he pretended to be his vassals, and dignified with warlike epithets, Saladine replied in the same manner; and declaring that his followers were so numerous, that their names and titles could not be committed to paper, he insisted as the terms of peace, that the Christians should deliver up Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch; upon which

Clement III. succeeds Gregory;

and sends a legate to the emperor, who takes the cross.

which he promised to deliver up all their captives, and allow the pilgrims free access to Jerusalem [a].

In the mean time William, archbishop of Tyre, having procured a conference in Normandy between the kings of France and England, both these princes, with their nobles and barons, assumed the cross with great ardour; and each having assembled the states of his dominions, it was decreed, that all those, who did not assume the cross, should pay the tenth part of their estates and effects for the support of the expedition. This tax, called the Saladine Tythe, was likewise raised in Germany, and occasioned every-where a great oppression of the poor. As ecclesiastical revenues were not excepted, the clergy murmured very much, and insisted, that the expedition could not prosper that was supported by the sweat of the poor, and the spoils of the churches [b]. Clement having been successful in his negociation with the Romans, had concluded a treaty with them, in which, among other things, it was agreed, that the walls of Tusculum should be destroyed; that the senators should have the third part of the money that was coined in the city; and if the Romans had a mind to make war upon Tivoli, the pope should not take that city under his protection. In consequence of this treaty, Clement having returned to Rome, wrote to the king of Scotland, and the bishops of that kingdom, in favour of John, bishop of Dunkeld; and having procured a reconciliation betwixt him and the king, he granted a bull, exempting the church of Scotland from subjection to any one, except the pope and his legate a latere.

His example is followed by the kings of England France.

The Romans are reconciled to the pope.

The following year Clement sent cardinal John, of Anagni, as his legate into France, to mediate a peace betwixt the kings of France and England, and to press them to hasten their departure for the Holy Land. At the intreaty of the legate a conference was held, but without effect; so that both parties had again recourse to arms: but the king of France gaining some signal advantages, Henry was obliged to submit to the terms of peace that he had before rejected; and dying soon after, was succeeded by his son Richard, who renewed the war. He, being in great want of money, sent ambassadors to the pope, who granted him letters patent, allowing him to release whom he pleased from the sacred expedition, by which

A.D. 1189.

He sends a legate to France,

[a] Baronii Annales ad an. 1188.

[b] Epist. Petr. Bless. ad Episc. Aurelian.

means

means he raised immense sums. Mean while William, king of Sicily, dying without issue, Clement pretended to the whole succession, as the kingdoms of the deceased were reckoned fiefs of the holy see [c]; but considering that he had not forces to support his claim, and being informed that the nobles of the island had set up Tancred, a natural son of king Roger, he gave the investiture of the kingdom to him, to the prejudice of Henry, the emperor's son, who claimed the succession in right of his wife Constantia, daughter of Roger, and aunt of the late king [d].

and gives the investiture of Sicily to Tancred.

A.D. 1190. The emperor, in the mean time, departing with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men for the Holy Land, Richard, king of England, proposed soon to take the same route. Having appointed William, bishop of Ely, to govern the kingdom in his absence, he sent ambassadors to the pope, desiring his holiness to confer the dignity of legate upon the viceroy, to prevent the princes, Geoffrey and John, from attempting to disturb the kingdom. The king obtained his request from the Roman see, but not without paying fifteen hundred marks of silver, for which extortion the following year he reproached the cardinal bishop of Ostia, as he touched at that port in his passage to Sicily. Upon his arrival at Messina, he had some disputes with Philip, king of France, who had likewise sailed thither on the same expedition. Having concluded a treaty of marriage betwixt Arthur, duke of Bretagne, and the daughter of Tancred, king of Sicily, on which account he had received from Tancred twenty thousand ounces of gold, he wrote to the pope, informing him of the transaction, desiring him to become his surety for the re-payment of the money, in case the intended alliance should never take effect. Soon after Clement received an embassy from the emperor Henry, who, upon the news of the death of his father in the Holy Land, had succeeded to the empire. The pope having deliberated with the cardinals, senators, and people of Rome, promised, at the desire of Henry, to confer upon him the imperial crown, and appointed the following Easter for the ceremony of the coronation; but, before the arrival of the emperor, he died at Rome on the 10th of April.

The emperor marches to the Holy Land, and is followed by the kings of England and France.

A.D. 1191. A few days after the death of Clement, the cardinals elected Hyacinthus, a cardinal-deacon, then eighty-five years of age, who was consecrated on Easter Sunday, and

Pope Clement is succeeded by Celestine III.

[c] Platina in Vit. Pontif. Rom. [d] Willielm. Neubrigens.

took

took the name of Celestine III. Next day he went from the Lateran to the church of St. Peter, to receive the emperor Henry, who had advanced with his army to Rome. Having received an oath from him on the top of the steps, that he would preserve the privileges of the church, restore its patrimony entire, and deliver up Tusculum, he conducted him into the church, and crowned him and his wife Constantia. This coronation was very singular, for the pope had no sooner put the crown upon the emperor's head, than he kicked it off again to the ground, signifying, that he had a power of depriving him of the empire, as well as of conferring it upon him [e]. Henry soon after marched with his army towards Apulia, to take possession of the kingdom of Sicily, and the provinces of Italy depending on that crown. The Romans, in the mean time, having obtained permission of the pope, utterly destroyed Tusculum; and, as a memorial of their revenge, carried part of the ruins to Rome, which was piled up in the Capitol [f]. The miserable inhabitants dispersed themselves in different cities; but a few of them built some huts in one of the suburbs, which, from being built of wood, were called Frascati, and thither the episcopal see was transferred [g]. Henry, in the mean time, had made himself master of the greatest part of the cities of Apulia and Calabria, and sat down before Naples; but after three months siege, his army being greatly reduced by sickness, he was obliged to withdraw his troops and retire to Lombardy, from whence, in the end of autumn, he returned to Germany.

who crowns the emperor Henry VI.

During these transactions, Celestine excommunicated Alphonsus, king of Galicia, for refusing to divorce his wife, who was related to him within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. Being informed likewise, that Geoffrey and John, the king of England's brothers, were raising commotions in that kingdom, he wrote to the bishops, ordering them to excommunicate all those who disturbed the administration of the bishop of Ely. Mean while Philip, king of France, having had some disputes with the king of England, abandoned the expedition in the Holy Land, and returned to Europe. Upon his arrival at Rome he heavily accused the king of England of forcing him from the Holy Land; though this accusation was believed to proceed from envy, yet he was treated with great respect by the pope, who granted many of his subjects, who fol-

He excommunicates the king of Galicia;

[e] Rogerii Annales. [f] Idem ibid. Sigon. lib. xiv. p. 349.
[g] Baron. Annales.

lowed him, the privilege of pilgrims, though they had not accomplished their vow; but he refused to absolve him from the oath he had given to Richard, not to invade his dominions during his absence[h].

A.D. 1192. In the following year Celestine renewed the bull of his predecessor in favour of the church of Scotland, and confirmed the sentence of excommunication against the archbishop of Rouen, who had disturbed the administration of the bishop of Ely in England, and, by the assistance of the faction of the princes, had expelled him the kingdom. He likewise wrote a letter, addressed to the bishops of England, in order to be published: it contained a command to all the princes in Europe to live in mutual peace, and offered full remission of sins to all those who should undertake the holy expedition. Mean while Richard, king of England, in his return from the Holy Land, being taken prisoner in Austria, and unjustly detained by the emperor, the bishops of Normandy wrote to his holiness, loudly complaining of the violence and breach of faith, and intreating him to draw the sword of St. Peter against the emperor, who had affronted the church, by doing violence to one of its soldiers. Celestine was not prevailed upon by this letter to intercede for the king's liberty; but he obtained the liberty of the empress Constantia, who had been taken prisoner in the emperor's expedition to Naples, and sent her, at his own expence, in an honourable manner to Germany. Eleonora, the mother of the king of England, amazed at the pope's inactivity in the cause of her son, wrote to him with great freedom, mixing reproaches with her intreaties, and complaining that no legate had yet been sent to the emperor: she even declared, that it would have been no degradation of the apostolic see, if he had gone himself to Germany to intercede for the liberty of her son. This letter having no effect, she wrote a second and a third in the same style[i]. The pope at last, after the king had been more than a year in captivity, wrote to the clergy of England, that he would excommunicate the emperor and the king of France, with all their subjects, if Richard was not immediately set at liberty. But by this time, the emperor had agreed to set the king at liberty for a ransom of a hundred and fifty thousand marks. Accordingly, upon the arrival of the queen-dowager Eleanor, with part of the ransom, and hostages for the security of the

and the disturbers of the public peace in England.

A.D 1193

The king of England is detained a prisoner by the emperor;

who is threatened with excommunication.

[h] Sigon. lib. xiv. p. 351.

[i] Apud Petr. Bless. Epist. 144, 145, 146.

rest,

reſt, Richard was delivered to her at Cologne, on the 4th of February, and immediately ſet out with the greateſt diſpatch for England. A.D. 1194.

The pope having received great complaints of the irregularities committed by Geoffrey, archbiſhop of York, during the abſence of the king of England, created the archbiſhop of Canterbury his legate in that kingdom, to ſecond the endeavours of the king in reforming abuſes. He gave a commiſſion to Hugh, biſhop of Ely; Winemer, archdeacon of Northampton; and Hugh, a prior, to judge the archbiſhop of York; and, if they found him guilty of the irregularities wherewith he was charged, to ſuſpend him from his epiſcopal functions. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, in virtue of his commiſſion as legate, ſoon after went to York, and in the cathedral church held a council of the clergy, in which twelve canons were ordained, relating chiefly to the form of celebrating maſs, the adminiſtering of baptiſm, and the payment of tithes. Monks and nuns were likewiſe ordered not to wander abroad; clergymen were enjoined to be dreſſed decently, according to their order, and not to frequent taverns; and thoſe guilty of wilful perjury, or exciting others to the ſame crime, were ordered to be excommunicated thrice a year, by bell and candle, and their names to be read over every Sunday [k]. *The pope orders the archbiſhop of York to be tried, and creates the archbiſhop of Canterbury his legate.*

The emperor Henry, being informed of the death of Tancred, king of Sicily, marched with a formidable army into Italy, and, by the aſſiſtance of the Genoeſe and Piſan fleets, made himſelf maſter of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily; then ſeizing upon the immenſe treaſures of the late king, he made the queen-dowager, with her children, and a great many biſhops and nobles, priſoners, and carried them over with him to Italy, from whence he returned with them to Germany [l]. *The emperor marches into Italy, and ſubdues Apulia and Sicily.*

Celeſtine, though he had no deſire to ſee the emperor poſſeſſed of Sicily, yet found him ſo powerful, by the unanimous ſubmiſſion of the Italians and Germans, that he thought proper to diſſemble his reſentment; but having received an embaſſy from the king of England, complaining of the violence of the duke of Auſtria, who ſeized upon him in contempt of the three years protection granted by the holy ſee to all pilgrims, he excommunicated that duke by name, and in general all thoſe who had laid vio- A.D. 1195. *The pope excommunicates the duke of Auſtria.*

[k] Rogerii Annales. [l] Chron. Foſſæ novæ apud Murator. tom. vii. Arnold. Chron. Sclav. lib. iv. cap. 20.

lent hands upon the king. He likewise laid his territories under an interdict, and ordered him not only to send back the hostages of the king of England, but to restore the money that had been unjustly extorted from him. At the solicitation of Richard, Celestine also admonished the emperor to restore the money that he had taken for the ransom; and upon his neglecting the admonition, he at length denounced a sentence of excommunication against him, under which Henry continued till his death. Celestine being likewise informed that the king of France had prevailed with the bishops of his kingdom to grant a divorce from his queen, he annulled their sentence, and wrote to the archbishop of Sens, ordering him to prohibit the king from taking another wife [m].

The crusade preached in England and Germany with great success.

About the same time he wrote to the bishops of England, exhorting them to preach up the crusade in that kingdom; and the archbishop of York having been suspended, he wrote to Simon, the deacon of that see, to take the government of that diocese. Being informed likewise that the clerk and agent of the archbishop at Rome had sent many false letters to England, written in the name of the Roman church, he ordered diligent search to be made after those letters. Mean while, having sent cardinal Gregory to preach up the crusade in Germany, the people of that nation assumed the cross with great alacrity, and the emperor himself resolved upon the expedition, but was dissuaded from it by all his counsellors, who alleged, that it would conduce more to the success of the crusade if he continued in the empire, to provide for convoys and reinforcements [n].

A D. 1196.

The following year Celestine received a letter from Philip, bishop of Beauvais, who having been taken prisoner in an engagement with the king of England, intreated his holiness to prevail with the king to set him at liberty. Celestine reproved the bishop for acting inconsistently with his profession; but at the same time wrote to the king, interceding in his behalf. Richard, upon receiving the letter, sent the armour of the bishop to the pope, and desired the messenger, upon presenting the armour, to ask the following question; "Is this thy son's coat, or not?"

The emperor marches with an army of croisés into Italy.

In the mean time the croises having assembled in great numbers in Germany, Henry divided them into three armies, and sending one through Hungary, and another by

[m] Mat Paris, in Hist. Ang. Innocent Epist. 186. [n] Arnold. lib. v. cap. 1. Willel. Neubrigens. lib. v. cap. 20.

sea

ſea from Hamburgh and Frieſland, he himſelf conducted the third into Italy, to be ſhipped from thence for the Holy Land. His real intention of leading them into Italy was to puniſh a revolt of his new ſubjects in Apulia and Sicily, who, entertaining an averſion to the German government, and being exaſperated by the emperor's cruelty, took the opportunity of his abſence to chuſe a chief of their own nation, and to oppoſe his regents. Henry having reduced Apulia and Calabria, put a great many of the rebels to death by various tortures, and paſſing over into Sicily, about the middle of January, reduced the rebels in that kingdom; after which exploits he ſent off his troops for the Holy Land. His exceſſive cruelty had not only exaſperated the minds of his new ſubjects, but alſo alienated the affections of the empreſs, who reſenting his coldneſs towards herſelf, and his barbarity towards her countrymen, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, which broke out with great violence upon the departure of his troops. The inſurrection firſt began in Italy, which the Sicilians being informed of, they immediately aſſembled at Palermo, and beſieged the emperor, who being in no condition to reſiſt, was obliged to ſubmit to a diſhonourable peace, and died (R) a few days after °.

A.D. 1197.

Having committed great cruelties in Apulia and Sicily. he ſends his troops to the Holy Land,

and dies in Sicily.

As Henry died excommunicated, the pope ordered his body to remain unburied; but, at the interceſſion of the archbiſhop of Meſſina, Celeſtine promiſed to allow his body to be buried, if the king of England ſhould conſent to it, and likewiſe to confer the crown of Sicily on the infant Frederic, king of the Romans; on which account Roger the annaliſt relates, that the pope received one thouſand marks of ſilver for himſelf, and as much for his

° See the Hiſtory of the Empire.

(R) Roger, the Engliſh annaliſt, relates, that Henry, before his death, ſent his chancellor of Burgundy to the king of England, offering the reſtitution of the ranſom he had taken from him, either in gold, ſilver, or land; but that the emperor died while the chancellor was on his journey, which put a ſtop to the negociation. Pope Innocent likewiſe mentions, in one of his letters to Richard, that by his laſt will, the emperor ordered his ſon to reſtore the money that he had extorted from the king of England, when he was a priſoner; and if he neglected to make reſtitution, he ordered him to be compelled by the apoſtolic ſee (1).

(1) Innocent. lib. i. Epiſt. 230.

brothers the cardinals [p]. Besides, at this time the church of Rome recovered a great many territories they had pretensions to in Tuscany, Campania, and Apulia, which had been for a considerable time possessed by the emperors.

Celestine sends a legate into Bohemia and Poland,

During these transactions, Celestine being informed that the clergy of Bohemia and Poland neglected the precept of celibacy, and contracted marriages, he sent Peter, a cardinal-deacon, as his legate into those kingdoms; who, upon his arrival at Prague, narrowly escaped being murdered by the clergy, who despised his authority; but in Poland, being treated with great honour and respect, he went through the dioceses in the kingdom, and prohibiting the marriages of the clergy, under severe penalties, ordered those of the laymen to be celebrated in the presence of a full congregation. Mean while Celestine, falling sick at Rome, assembled the cardinals, and proposed to them cardinal John, of the title of St. Paul, as his successor, offering to resign the pontificate, if they would consent to his election; but as several of them were aiming at the pontificate for themselves, his proposal was rejected; and his illness increasing, he died on the 10th of January.

A D. 1198.

and dies at Rome.

Cardinal Lotharius is chosen pope, and takes the name of Innocent III.

Celestine being buried the same day that he died, the cardinals immediately assembled to chuse a successor. At first they were divided in their opinions, some proposing cardinal John of Salerno, and others Lotharius, a cardinal-deacon; but John resigning his pretensions, they unanimously elected Lotharius, then only thirty-seven years of age [q], who, upon his election, took the name of Innocent III. (S); and next day wrote letters, addressed to all the faithful, informing them of his election. Understanding that the cities of Tuscany, encouraged by the death of the emperor, had entered into an association to defend their liberties against Philip, duke of Suabia, he

[p] Rogerii Annales.

[q] Spondani Annales.

(S) Innocent was born at Anagni, and descended from the noble family of the counts of Segui. He studied first at Rome, then at Paris, and afterwards at Bologna, where he distinguished himself by his superior knowlege in philosophy and divinity; which last he publicly professed. He was ordained a sub-deacon by Gregory VIII. and promoted to the dignity of cardinal by Clement III. While cardinal, he wrote several treatises full of piety and learning; and after his promotion to the pontificate, besides his numerous letters, he published several books of sermons.

condemned

condemned their proceedings, declaring that, as the duchy of Tuscany was part of the patrimony of the church, the cities ought not to have entered into an association to the prejudice of the rights and authority of the holy see [r]. As he was only a deacon, he received priest's orders on the 20th of February, and on the Sunday following was consecrated in the church of St. Peter. Next day he received the oath of fidelity from the prefect of the city, and gave him the investiture of that dignity, which authority no pope had ever hitherto assumed, the prefects having always done homage to the emperors, from whom they held their dignity [s].

He receives allegiance from the prefect of Rome;

Taking the opportunity of the factions occasioned by the death of the emperor, he likewise sent nuncios through all the ecclesiastical state, requiring homage; and turning out the judges of the senate, appointed others of his own. At the intreaty of Constantia, he gave the investiture of Sicily, Apulia, and Capua, to her and her infant son Frederic, on condition that she paid homage to the holy see, as her ancestors had done, and renounced the right of elections, legations, appeals, and councils, which privileges, he alleged, had been surreptitiously obtained from his predecessors. Soon after his election he likewise sent two legates into Germany, requiring the Sicilian captives, especially the archbishop of Salerno, to be delivered up, and threatening to lay the kingdom of Germany under an interdict in case of refusal. The legates, upon their arrival in Germany, found the kingdom in great distraction, occasioned by the factions of the competitors to the empire; the friends of the house of Suabia having elected Philip, brother of the late emperor, while another party chose Otho duke of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, who was solemnly crowned by the archbishop of Cologne, at Aix la Chapelle.

and requires homage from all in the ecclesiastical state.

Innocent, who hated the race of Barbarossa, gave orders to his legates to confirm the election of Otho; and in the mean time, being solicitous to recover the patrimony of the church from the usurpations of the late emperors, he excommunicated Marcoaldus, who possessed Romaniola and the March of Ancona; and Conrad, who held the duchy of Spoleto. These two German princes immediately offered to become vassals of the holy see, and to pay yearly a large sum of money to the pope; but Innocent rejecting all accommodation, Conrad, even against the in-

He orders his legates to confirm the election of the emperor Otho.

[r] Sigon. lib. xv. p. 385. Baluzio apud Murator. tom. iii.

[s] Vita Innocent. ex Stephano

clination of his subjects, resigned his duchy to the Roman church, and was absolved from the sentence of excommunication. Marcoaldus, knowing that his subjects had an aversion to submit to the Romans, resolved to maintain the possession of his duchy by force; but Innocent sending an army against him, and prevailing with the inhabitants of Bologna to join his forces, Marcoaldus was defeated, and obliged to surrender his cities to the pope [s].

Is left guardian of the king and kingdom of Sicily by Constantia.

About this time the empress Constantia dying, and leaving the pope guardian of her son, and administrator of his kingdoms during his minority, Marcoaldus, not being able to maintain the possession of Ancona and Romaniola, marched with his army into Apulia, and pretending that the guardianship of the young king was committed to him, made himself master of several cities, and besieged the monastery of Monte Cassino. Innocent, having ordered an army to march against him, sent a legate into Sicily to receive the allegiance of the nobles of that kingdom. He likewise sent Peter, a cardinal-deacon, as his legate into France, to oblige the king to recall his lawful queen; but the king paying no regard to the intreaties of the legate, Peter called a council at Vienne, and laid the kingdom under an interdict, prohibiting all divine offices to be performed, except the baptism of infants, and the confession of dying persons; so that the churches were shut up, and the dead remained unburied. Innocent, at the same time, sent other legates into Portugal, Hungary, Denmark, and Sweden, to correct the abuses in those kingdoms. Having received an embassy from Alexius, emperor of Constantinople, he sent legates to his court, desiring him to assist the Christians in the Holy Land, and to bring the Greek church to an union with, and submission to that of Rome.

Being studious of reforming the discipline of the church, he wrote to the monks of Monte Cassino, reprehending them for their neglect of the rules of their order; and suspended the patriarch of Antioch and the archbishop of Tours, for translating bishops without consulting the apostolic see. He likewise extirpated the usurers of France; ordained that fighting priests should be deposed; prohibited lay investitures, and a plurality of benefices; forbad ecclesiastical judges to accept money for deciding causes; and offered indulgencies to those who would marry prostitutes [t].

[s] Sigon. ubi supra. Vita Innocent. ubi supra. Epist. Innocent. p. 191. 113. 50. 118. 506, &c.

In

In the following year he wrote to the kings of France and England, exhorting them to take the croſs, and to ſend money to the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtians in Syria. He alſo invited the emperor of Conſtantinople to undertake the holy expedition; and ſent two legates into Dalmatia, to reform the churches in that kingdom, who likewiſe viſited the jupan of Servia, as appears by that prince's letter to the pope. Innocent alſo ſent the ſtandard of St. Peter to the king of Armenia; but ordered him not to intermeddle in the diſpute about the ſucceſſion to the principality of Antioch, till he (the pope) ſhould have ſent legates to determine the affair. He applied himſelf, likewiſe, with great earneſtneſs, to put a ſtop to the hereſies that were ſpreading in France and Italy. Being informed by the biſhop of Metz, that, in conſequence of a tranſlation of the Bible into the French language, the people had taken an occaſion to deſpiſe the prieſts, to aſſemble in private conventicles, and to aſſume to themſelves the office of preaching, he reproved them ſeverely, and wrote to the biſhops in that neighbourhood to enquire who was the author of the tranſlation, what were his intentions, and how he ſtood affected to the apoſtolic ſee [u]. During the preceding year, his legate in France having depoſed the abbot of St. Martin's, and ſuſpended the deacon of the great church in Nivers, upon conviction of hereſy, Innocent wrote to his legates, ordering them to proceed againſt the heretics called (T) Waldenſes, Cathari, Albigenſes, or of whatever denomination.

A.D. 1199.

He invites the emperor of Conſtantinople to take the croſs.

Exerts himſelf to ſuppreſs the Albigenſes and Waldenſes.

Soon

[u] Epiſt. 130, 131, 223.

(T) Thoſe who ſeparated themſelves from the Roman church, upon a conviction of its depravity from the inſtitution of our Saviour and his apoſtles, were at this time very numerous, and diſtinguiſhed by various appellations. They were called Waldenſes, Cathari, Patarini, Albigenſes, Poor of Lyons, Populicani; in Flanders they had the name of Piphles; and, in ſome parts of France Tifferants, that is, *weavers*. Though they all united in condemning the tyranny, luxury, and ſuperſtition of the Roman church, yet they differed from one another in many practices and articles of belief, and were ſplit into ſeveral ſmall ſects, under particular names. Theſe ſeparatiſts, or, as the church of Rome called them, heretics, were named Waldenſes, from one Peter Waldo, of Lyons, in France, who, though poſſeſſed of great wealth, about the year 1160, reſigned all his poſſeſſions, and profeſſed an evangelical poverty; and having

Soon after, hearing that Philip, duke of Suabia, still supported his pretensions to the empire by arms, he sent two

ing gained a great many proselytes, they were called the Poor of Lyons, and sometimes Leonistæ. They were called Albigenses, from the city Helvii, or Albigeois, in Languedoc, which they inhabited; or because they were first condemned there, in a council held in 1176. Rainerius, who had been one of their teachers, and afterwards conformed to the Roman church, gives an account of the chief of their tenets, viz. That the Roman church was the whore mentioned in the Apocalypse; that its statutes were grievous and burdensome; that the pope was the head of all errors; that none is greater than another in the church; that therefore we ought only to obey God; no tythes or secular revenues ought to be given to clergymen; churches ought not to be endowed; clergymen ought to work with their hands as the apostles did; the sacraments of the church were nothing; the eucharist could not be consecrated by priests remaining in mortal sin; that transubstantiation was not made in the hand of the priest, but in the mouth of the receiver; that it may be consecrated at a common table, and ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; that mass was nothing, as the apostles never used it; that a penitent cannot be absolved by a wicked priest; that a good layman had a power of giving absolution; that clergymen ought not to be denied marriage; the sacraments of unction and ordination were nothing; every good layman was a priest, and both men and women may preach; Latin was of no service to laymen; whatever is affirmed without the authority of Scripture is a fable; the decrees of the church, and the explanations of the saints are not to be minded; excommunications ought to be disregarded; indulgences and dispensations have no real power; none ought to be invoked but God alone; relics ought not be honoured; the miracles and legends of the saints are lies; the sign of the cross ought to be detested, upon account of the suffering of Christ; the traditions of the church are the traditions of the Pharisees, and all its customs, rites, feasts, consecrations, benedictions, &c. ought to be rejected; as God does not dwell in churches, they ought not to be dedicated or adorned; sacerdotal ornaments and vestments, incenses, images, candles, processions, holy water, and the singing of the church, ought to be condemned and rejected; ecclesiastical burial is of no service to the dead, but is only practised for gain; there is no purgatory; every sin is mortal; an oath ought never to be used, and he who forces one to swear in judgment is worse than a murderer; all princes and judges are damned who condemn evil-doers, as the avenging of crimes belongs only

two legates into Germany, ordering every one to submit to Otho, and to desert the cause of Philip, who, though he had privately obtained absolution, was still accounted an excommunicated person by the apostolic see. Being informed likewise, that John, king of England, who had succeeded his brother Richard, had concluded a peace with the king of France, and engaged to give no assistance to Otho, he wrote to king John, that he ought not to keep his engagements to the king of France, and ordered him to pay to his nephew Otho the sums that had been left him by Richard in his last will. In the mean time, Marcoaldus having taken St. Germano, and made himself master of several places in Apulia and Calabria, passed over, with the greatest part of his army, into Sicily, and reduced Mont Royal, in the neighbourhood of Palermo. Innocent being informed of these transactions by the Sicilians, sent his cousin James, accompanied by a legate and the archbishop of Naples and Tarento, with an army into Calabria, who, having defeated a party of Germans that were ravaging that province, passed over from thence with his army to Messina, and marching directly for Palermo, which had been strictly besieged for twenty days by Marcoaldus, he engaged him before the city, and entirely defeated him, taking all his baggage, among which was found the last will of the late emperor [w].

A.D. 1200.

He embraces the party of the emperor Otho;

Next year Innocent wrote to Otho and the nobles of the empire, and, acknowleging him as emperor, he ordered them to render him respect and obedience as their prince, offering to absolve them from all obligations that they might be under to Philip. His legate having likewise held an assembly at Cologne, publicly declared Otho

A.D. 1201.

and offers to absolve the nobles from their obligations to Philip.

[w] Vita Innocent. & Chron. Richard. de S. Germano, apud Murator. tom. iii. & vii.

only to God. These tenets, Rainerius says, were professed by most of the Waldenses, who were dispersed almost over all Europe, and were divided into small sects, having some general opinions in which they all agreed, and some peculiar ones in which they disagreed. However, he declares that they were sedate and modest, always working and living upon the labour of their hands, content with bare necessaries: the greatest part of them chaste, temperate in their eating and drinking, shunning dancing, jesting, lying, and slandering (1).

(1) Spondani Annales.

king

king of the Romans, and excommunicated all those who opposed him, particularly Philip of Suabia and his adherents. This conduct of the legate highly incensed the nobles of the other party, who wrote to Innocent, complaining of the infringement made upon their right of election. The king of France, likewise, having been reconciled to the Roman see, by agreeing to take back his queen, wrote to Innocent to prevail with him to favour Philip; but no intreaties had any effect upon the pope, who was the determined enemy of the house of Suabia.

He exerts himself for the relief of the Christians in the Holy Land.

Mean while he laboured earnestly to excite the princes of Europe to a new crusade, which he had ordered to be preached soon after his promotion to the pontificate. As an example to others, he appointed two of the cardinals to take the cross, and, assigning the tenth of his revenues, and of those of the cardinals, he ordered all other ecclesiastics, of whatever denomination, to pay the fortieth part of their revenues for the support of the Christians in Syria. He likewise fitted out a new ship, which he loaded with corn and provisions, and sent them to the relief of the Christians in those parts, ordering the ship to continued in the service of the Templars. His ardour was imitated by many French and Germans, some of whom sold all their possessions to defray the expences of the expedition. Many of the French sailed from Marseilles, but others, as the most commodious passage, repaired to Venice, from thence to sail to Syria. As they had not money sufficient to pay for their passage, they agreed to assist the Venetians as soldiers, and to free the Adriatic sea from the pirates of Istria and Dalmatia. They were also persuaded to reduce Zara, then in possession of the king of Hungary, to the power of the Venetians, which undertaking the pope being informed of, he immediately excommunicated them, for unjustly attacking the territories of a Christian prince. The croises, upon their submission, were again absolved; but the Venetians refusing to give satisfaction for the losses of the inhabitants, remained under the sentence of excommunication; however, as the croises had no other way of arriving at the Holy Land but by their fleet, the pope allowed them to communicate with them during the voyage.

A.D.1202. In the mean time Innocent being informed that Walter, bishop of Troja, and chancellor of Sicily, had caused himself to be elected archbishop of Palermo; and had surreptitiously obtained the confirmation of the legate, he wrote to his legate, severely blaming his conduct; however,

Excommunicates the chancellor of Sicily;

ever, he allowed the chancellor to enjoy the ſpiritual and temporal juriſdiction of the archbiſhoprick, but not to aſſume the title. Walter, with diſdain, rejected this offer; and being offended with the pope for granting the principality of Faranto and the county of Lecce to the count of Brenna, who had married the daughter of the late king Tancred, he entered into an agreement with Marcoaldus, and divided with him the adminiſtration, one of them being to reſide in Sicily, and the other in Apulia. This compoſition was no ſooner made than broken; however, the pope, offended with the proceedings of the chancellor, excommunicated him, and depoſed him from both his ſees, ordering others to be ordained in his place [x].

who joins the German faction;

The chancellor, after this ſentence was pronounced againſt him, immediately joined Diupuldus, who had been left by Marcoaldus in Apulia; but the pope ſending an army againſt them, under the command of the count of Brenna, they were, after a deſperate engagement, entirely defeated. In the mean time Marcoaldus had made himſelf maſter of almoſt all Sicily except Meſſina; but fearing the power of the count of Brenna, who was ſupported by the pope, and, upon the death of Frederic, was next heir to the crown, he made large offers to him and the pope, on condition that he would return to France. Theſe offers were rejected by Innocent and the count; and Marcoaldus being ſo grievouſly afflicted with the ſtone as to ſubmit to be cut, died ſoon after of the effects of the operation. The chancellor being informed of his death, ſubmitted to the holy ſee, and, receiving abſolution, went over into Sicily to oppoſe the Germans, who were now commanded by one Capparo. In Apulia the pope appointed the count of Brenna, and his couſin James, juſticiaries; and being obliged by the tumults of the Romans to quit the city, he retired to Anagni, where he fell ſo dangerouſly ill that his life was deſpaired of.

but ſoon after is reconciled to the church.

Innocent ſends two legates into Armenia, and another into Bulgaria.

While he continued in this city he received an embaſſy from the king of Armenia and the primate of that church, declaring their aſſent to the faith of the Roman church, and deſiring the aſſiſtance of the pope againſt the count of Tripoli and the Templars his adherents. The king likewiſe deſired that none, except the pope, ſhould have the power of excommunication, or interdict, againſt him or his kingdom; the primate, at the ſame time, requeſted the pall, ring, and mitre. Innocent granted their de-

[x] Vita Innocent. apud eund.

mands,

mands, and ſent two legates to judge the difference between the king and the count. Having likewiſe received an embaſſy from Calo John, emperor (as he ſtyled himſelf) of Bulgaria and Walachia, deſiring to receive a crown from the apoſtolic ſee, as his anceſtors had done, Innocent immediately ſent a legate into that country, with the pall for the archbiſhop, and promiſed to confer the crown as ſoon as he was informed of the ſtate of the church in that kingdom.

He ſends a legate with a preſent for the king of Scotland.

In the courſe of this year we find likewiſe, that Innocent ſent a legate into Scotland, with the preſent of a purple hat for the king, in token of his being a defender of the church, as that religious prince had ordered the Sabbath to be obſerved with great ſtrictneſs after mid-day. The legate alſo preſented the king with a ſword, the hilt and ſcabbard adorned with gold and diamonds, and beſides, honoured him with many privileges and indulgencies[y]. In the mean time John, king of England, not being able to oppoſe the arms of the king of France, implored the protection of the apoſtolic ſee, and accuſed his adverſary of breaking the truce. Innocent ſent legates to both kings, ordering them to deſiſt from hoſtilities, and threatening to lay their kingdoms under an interdict in caſe of refuſal. John willingly acquieſced; but Philip, angry that a ſtop was put to his victories, appealed to Rome, and, in the mean time, inſiſted upon proſecuting his right; but the legates refuſing to pay any regard to his appeal, unleſs he deſiſted from hoſtilities, he agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms, and ſent ſome biſhops to Rome, to proſecute his appeal, where nobody appearing for the king of England, the cauſe was dropped.

A.D. 1203.

The croiſes, at the intreaty of Alexius, take Conſtantinople, and reſtore his father.

During theſe tranſactions, Alexius, the ſon of the emperor Iſaac Angelus, who had been dethroned and impriſoned by his brother, having applied to the croiſes, wintering at Zara, for their aſſiſtance againſt his uncle the uſurper, they entered into a treaty (U) with them, in conſe-

[y] Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. lib. xiii.

(U) The ſubſtance of the treaty was, that Alexius, after the reſtoration of his father, ſhould furniſh the croiſes with proviſions, during their expedition into Syria, and ſhould give them two hundred thouſand marks for their aſſiſtance againſt the uſurper; that he ſhould either go himſelf, or ſend an army of ten thouſand men into the Holy Land for a year, and ſhould maintain five hundred horſe during his life,

to

consequence of which, instead of sailing to Syria, they directed their course to Constantinople, which they made themselves masters of by assault, after eight days siege; and taking the old man out of prison again, saluted him emperor, he having confirmed to them what had formerly been stipulated by his son. Innocent having acknowleged the late usurper, who had flattered him with specious embassies, was greatly offended at these proceedings of the croises; but their expedition being crowned with success, and being informed that they had engaged the new emperor to send a body of men into the Holy Land, he was easily reconciled to them, and even, upon a submissive embassy from the Venetians at Constantinople, absolved them from the sentence of excommunication. About the same time he wrote to John, king of England, to desist from persecuting the bishops and clergy; he exhorted the king of France to admit his queen to his presence, and to allow her to live with him; and threatened the king of Arragon with excommunication, unless he allowed the king of Castile to dissolve the incestuous marriage he had contracted with his daughter.

In the mean time the emperors of Constantinople not only neglected to fulfil the treaty with the croises, but endeavoured by various means to destroy them; and while they were encamped in the neighbourhood of the city, Murtzuphle, having surprised the emperors and seized the government, sent sixteen fire-ships against their fleet, which, with great difficulty, were prevented from doing execution. The croises, with great danger having grappled the fire-ships, and towed them off to sea, in return for the hostilities committed against them, resolved upon attacking the city, which they made themselves masters of upon the second assault; and, having taken possession of all the palaces and castles, and enriched themselves with the immense booty, they determined to secure their conquest. Making a new treaty with the Venetians, they assigned to them the islands in the Ægean sea, and unanimously elected Baldwin, count of Flanders, emperor; but having agreed, that whatever nation should obtain the imperial dignity, the other should possess the patriarchal, they accordingly conferred that dignity on Thomas Maurocenus, a noble Venetian, and sent an embassy to the

A.D. 1204.

The emperors neglect to fulfil their agreement with the croises.

to preserve the conquests already made; and lastly, he promised, after his promotion to the throne, to re-unite the Greek church to that of Rome.

pope,

pope, informing him of their proceedings, and asking the confirmation of the apostolic see. Thomas, the patriarch, likewise went to Rome to be confirmed in his dignity; but, as he had been chosen by laymen, Innocent annulled his election. However, at the intreaty of the emperor Baldwin, he elected him by his own authority, and afterwards consecrated him. Having severely reprimanded the princes for the rapine and sacrilege committed by them in storming the city, he, at length, granted his confirmation of their proceedings; but at the same time admonished them to recall the Greeks to the obedience of the Roman church, and introduce the Latin rites in their churches; and he prohibited them, under pain of excommunication, from alienating the ecclesiastical possessions [z].

The pope confirms their conquests.

Sends a crown to the prince of Bulgaria.

Innocent, at the same time, sent cardinal Leo, as his legate, into Bulgaria, with a crown and sceptre for that prince; sent preachers into Livonia to instruct those people in the faith of Christ; granted the pall to the archbishop of Upsal; and appointed the archbishop of Lunden to collect the tax of St. Peter in Denmark and Sweden. Mean while Peter, king of Arragon, arriving with a splendid retinue at Rome, was anointed, on the feast of St. Martin, by the bishop of Porta, and crowned by Innocent; and, having laid aside his royal ornaments, and received a sword from the hand of the pope, professed himself a soldier, according to the customs in use among the Spaniards, the successors to the throne among them not assuming the title of king till they were married, or were created soldiers. Peter, in return for the favour conferred upon him by the pope, declared his kingdom tributary to the holy see, and promised to pay yearly a tribute of two hundred and fifty mahozemutins, or crowns of gold [a].

During these transactions Almaricus, of the university of Paris, published several heretical doctrines, such as, if Adam had never sinned, there would have been no distinction of sexes, but men would have been multiplied like the angels; he asserted there was no heaven or hell, except in the breasts of the virtuous or wicked; that the invocation of saints, and the worshipping of altars or images was idolatry; that God was the materia prima, or *primitive matter*; that whatever sin was committed from benevolence had no guilt, and several other such like

[z] Vita Innocent. ubi supra. Blond. Villarduinus. Arnold. in Chron. Selac. [a] Suric. Indic. Rer. Arragon. lib. i. Marian. de Reb. Hisp. lib. ii. cap. 21.

tenets,

tenets, which have been collected by the writers on heresies [b]. As he was not able to defend all his propositions, he was first condemned by an assembly of the bishops and divines of Paris, and afterwards by the pope; but as he publicly abjured them at Paris before his death, which happened soon after, he was buried with the usual ceremonies [c]. As Aristotle's books of natural philosophy and metaphysics, lately brought from Constantinople, were supposed to have given rise to these heresies, they were ordered to be burned by the council of Paris, and prohibited under the penalty of excommunication [d].

Emperor Baldwin defeated, and taken prisoner by the king of Bulgaria.

The following year, Innocent being informed that Calo John, king of Bulgaria, had defeated the emperor Baldwin, at Adrianople, and carried him prisoner into Mysia, he wrote to the king, desiring him to set the emperor at liberty; in answer to which letter, the king replied, that he had desired to live in peace with the Latins at Constantinople; but their insolence had obliged him to give his assistance to the Greeks, and that Baldwin had died in prison [e]. Innocent at the same time wrote to all the clergy and Christians in the Latin army, ordering them not to quit Constantinople, but to endeavour to bring the Greeks to the obedience of the Roman Church; for which purpose he desired the bishops of France, and the doctors of the university of Paris, to send clergymen and students into the East, to revive the study of learning, which had originally come from thence into the western parts of Europe. At the same time he refused the pall to the archbishop of Zara, unless the doge, who requested it, would promise that the republic of Venice should make satisfaction for the storming and pillaging of that city. He likewise excommunicated the archbishop of Cologn, who had deserted the party of the emperor Otho, and crowned the emperor Philip with the empress at Aix la Chapelle. As the archbishop neglected to appear at Rome, he ordered him to be deposed, and Bruno, provost of Bonn, to be elected in his place.

Mean while hostilities still continued in Apulia betwixt Walter, count of Brenna, and Diopoldus who commanded the Germans; but Walter being rendered careless by his successes, was, in the month of June, surprised near

[b] Eymer. Direct. p. ii. cap. vii. Gualter in Tab. Chron. sect. xiii. cap. 1. Rigord. Allissiodor. [c] Lutzemb. Pratt. Cattr. de Hæres. [d] Spond. Annal. Not. anno 1204. [e] Vita Innocent. ubi supra.

A.D. 1206.

Sarno by Diopoldus, and died in prison a few days afterwards, of his wounds. Innocent being informed of his death, came to an accommodation with Diopoldus; then sending for him to Rome, absolved him and his followers from the sentence of excommunication, and allowed him to return to Salerno, with some command; but obliged the Apulians and Sicilians to take the oath of allegiance to the officers of the apostolic see [c]. Innocent likewise wrote to Thomas, the patriarch of Constantinople, and Henry, the brother of the late emperor Baldwin, confirming the composition made betwixt them in the presence of his legate, with regard to ecclesiastical revenues [f]: and as there was a dispute betwixt the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, about their right of superiority over the church of Tyre, he summoned the patriarch of Jerusalem to appear at Rome within a certain time, to answer the claims of the patriarch of Antioch. Being also informed, that the king of Denmark had imprisoned Waldemar, bishop of Sleswick, he wrote to that prince, threatening him with ecclesiastical censures if he did not release the bishop. The king complied with the command of the pope; but as the bishop was of a restless and turbulent disposition, he obtained from Innocent, that he should not any longer reside in the neighbourhood of his kingdom [g].

The Sicilians and Apulians take the oath of allegiance to the pope.

At the same time, the pope exhorted the bishops of Spain, to reconcile the kings of Castile and Leon: he directed the archbishop of Saltzburgh, to enquire into the justness of the divorce imposed by Othogar, king of Bohemia, on his queen; and wrote to his legate in England, ordering him to threaten the king with ecclesiastical censures, if he did not cease from troubling the clergy. About this time Didacus, a Spanish bishop, arriving at Rome, desired leave to abdicate his bishoprick, that he might the more freely employ himself in preaching to the Pagans. Innocent refusing his request, and ordering him to return to his church, he submitted, and set out for Spain. Upon his arrival at Montpellier, he found Arnold, abbot of the Cistertians, with two of his monks, who had been preaching to the heretics of that province. Though they were greatly dispirited upon account of their bad success, Didacus exhorted them to persevere, and assisted them in their labours. However, though they were joined

[c] Chron. de St Germ. apud Murator. lib. vii. p. 981. Spond. Annal. [f] Innocent. Epist. 106. an. 9. [g] Arnold. Lubec.

by

by twelve French abbots of the same order, and a great many monks, they made but very few converts (W), being opposed by the count of Thoulouse, and the nobles of the country [h].

Philip, emperor of Germany, having entirely defeated his competitor Otho, and obliged him to fly into England, resolving now to reconcile the pope to his cause, sent the patriarch of Aquileia, and the burgrave of Magdeburgh, with many nobles and learned men, to Rome, upon whose representations Innocent consented to absolve Philip, and acknowlege him as emperor, on condition that he gave one of his daughters in marriage to the pope's brother Richard, whom Innocent had honoured with the command of an army, and who the following year was created count of Sora [i]. The German ambassadors declared, that they had no instructions with regard to that article; upon which the pope sent two legates into Germany, with power to absolve Philip, upon his consenting to that proposition, and, together with his daughter, resigning the disputed territories of Mathilda, and others in Tuscany, Spoleto and the March of Ancona, in favour of Richard. Philip was not a little surprised at the interested views of the pope; however, he received the legates with great respect, and by his courtesy and liberality obtained from them public absolution, upon his swearing, says Spondanus, to stand to the judgment of the pope in every thing for which he had been excommunicated. Soon after a diet being called at Porthausen, a truce was concluded with Otho for one year, without any regard being had to the proposed marriage with the brother of the pope [k].

A.D. 1207.

Philip, emperor of Germany, sends an embassy to the pope.

[h] Alliss. Petr Villassarnensis. [i] Chron. Fossæ novæ, ad an. 1208. [k] Arnold. Lubec. cap. vii. cap. v. Abbas Ursperg.

(W) William of Puy en Vellay, who lived afterwards at Thoulouse, and wrote the history of the Albigenses in that neighbourhood, describing the state of that province at this time, says, that by the negligence of the prelates, and the ignorance of the clergy, the number of heretics had so increased, that they preached their doctrines every where publicly and without restraint; that they were so reverenced, that dying persons bestowed more and greater legacies upon them than upon the clergy; and that if they were known when they travelled, they were safe from the insults of robbers, who always spared their houses and effects (1).

(1) Guil. de Podio in Prolog.

Disputes betwixt the king of England and the pope;

During these transactions in Germany, Innocent was engaged in disputes with John, king of England, with regard to the election of an archbishop of Canterbury. Upon the death of the late archbishop, the monks of that church had elected Reginald, their superior, without the knowlege of the king, and sent him to Rome to be confirmed. The king being afterwards informed of this election, they, to appease him, asked leave to elect another, and, at his desire, chose the bishop of Norwich. The pope disapproving of both, caused the monks of Canterbury, assembled at Rome, to chuse a third person, one Stephen Langton, an Englishman, who for his great learning had been chosen chancellor of the university of Paris, and that same year created a cardinal. The king, highly displeased that the bishop of Norwich had been rejected, expelled the monks from Canterbury, confiscated the revenues of the archbishoprick, and prohibited Langton from entering the kingdom. He wrote likewise to the pope in an exasperated style, complaining of his ingratitude; to which expostulation Innocent replied, that he endeavoured to obtain his consent by letters and messengers, before he had ordained Stephen, although the approbation of princes was not usually required to elections made at the apostolic see. He concluded with reminding him of the example of Thomas Becket, and cautioned him to beware of engaging in an affair from which
A.D. 1208. he would find it difficult to extricate himself[1]. But John continuing firm in rejecting Langton, and at the same time exclaiming with angry expressions against the bishops and court of Rome, Innocent laid his kingdom under a general interdict, which was published on the 22d of March, the publishers immediately flying into France. The king, as soon as he was informed of the interdict, confiscated all the goods of the ecclesiastics, spiritual as well as temporal, imprisoned all the relations of Langton, and the bishops who had published the interdict, and ordered the other bishops to depart the kingdom.

who lays his kingdom under an interdict;

and excommunicates the count of Thoulouse.

Mean while Innocent, being informed that Peter de Castro Novo, a monk of the Cistertian order, and apostolic legate in the province of Narbonne, had been murdered by the soldiers of Raymund, count of Thoulouse, he excommunicated the count, and absolving his subjects from their allegiance, allowed any one to seize upon his pos-

[1] Matthew Paris.

sessions.

sessions. Raymund immediately sent messengers to Rome, and accusing the Cistertians of too great severity (X), begging that the pope would send another legate, to whom he promised all obedience. Innocent accordingly sent Milo, one of the notaries of his court, who, upon his arrival in France, presented the pope's letters to Philip, exhorting him to an expedition against the Albigenses; and afterwards having an interview with the count at Valentia, received from him seven castles as securities for his future obedience [m].

During these transactions, news arriving at Rome, that the emperor Philip had been murdered at Wamberg, Innocent immediately wrote to the bishops and nobles of that kingdom, exhorting them to unite in chusing Otho, who was accordingly unanimously elected at Frankfort, on the feast of St. Martin; and, to strengthen his interest with the party of the late emperor, he married his daughter Beatrice. After his election, Otho received an embassy from the city of Milan, inviting him to come to receive the crown of Italy; Innocent likewise sent legates, with letters of congratulation, offering to confer upon him the imperial crown upon his arrival at Rome. Otho's good success in succeeding so unexpectedly and easily to the crown, after he had in vain sought for it ten years, made him very liberal in his concessions to the pope, who, during all his adversity, had continued his stedfast friend. Accordingly, before he set out for Italy, he wrote to his holiness, promising to allow the elections of bishops to be made freely; to renounce all right to the revenues of vacant benefices; to endeavour earnestly to extirpate heresy; to leave to the holy see all the territories granted by his ancestors, or others, especially the countess Mathilda; to

A.D. 1209.

Otho makes great concessions in favour of the see of Rome.

[m] Hist. Albigens. cap. viii.

(X) This Peter de Castro Novo, together with Arnold, abbot of the Cistertians, and friar Radulphus, in order to be successful in converting the heretics, had erected a tribunal of inquisition, by the severities and cruelties of which court, they hoped to conquer the resolution of those who continued unmoved by their preaching. And the author of his life boasts, that all the glorious actions performed afterwards, owe their original to the labours of this martyr, who established that holy office by his blood (1).

(1) In Fasciculo Sanctor. Ord. Cist. lib. i. D. 21.

preserve to the Roman church its rights upon the kingdom of Sicily; and to allow appeals to be made without restraint to the see of Rome. This letter, dated at Spire, the 22d of March, was signed by the bishop of that city, and sealed with the golden bull; but the concessions it contained were too prejudicial to the empire to be long observed [n].

Soon after, Otho sent the patriarch of Aquileia to prepare the cities of Italy for his reception. Having assembled a considerable army at Augsburgh, he passed the Alps in the month of August, and arriving at Milan, received the iron crown from the hands of the archbishop Hubert. From thence, proceeding to Viterbo, he was there received by the pope with great affection, who, upon his arrival at Rome, crowned him with great solemnity in the church of St. Peter. Immediately after the coronation, there happened a dispute between the Romans and Germans, many of whom had entered the city from curiosity, and to buy provisions. The quarrel was inflamed to such a degree, that the citizens taking up arms, killed above a thousand of the Germans. The emperor not being to able obtain any satisfaction for this outrage, took his leave of the pope, and marched with his army towards Lombardy; but being informed that several fiefs of the empire in Tuscany and Campania had been seized by the church of Rome during the troubles in Germany, he sent some troops into Campania, to recover the usurped territories, and retook several cities in Tuscany that were garrisoned by the soldiers of the pope.

Is crowned by the pope.

During these transactions, Innocent had ordered John, king of England, to be excommunicated by name, through his whole kingdom; and had published a bull in France, with the offer of plenary indulgences to all those who should undertake a crusade against the Albigenses; in consequence of which bull, no less than fifty thousand croises assembled at Lyons, about the middle of June, distinguished from those that served against the Saracens, by wearing their crosses upon their breasts. These croises were commanded by the archbishop of Sens, and several other bishops, and by the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Nivers, St. Paul, Monfort, and others, with the count of Thoulouse, who took the cross from fear rather than affection. Their first expedition was against the city of Beziers, which they took by storm, putting

The king of England is excommunicated.

The croises march against the Albigenses.

[n] Rec. Bzov. lib. iii. de Neg. Imp.

all

all the inhabitants, to the number of sixty thousand, to the sword; from whence they marched against Carcassone, whither the Albigenses had carried their most valuable effects. This city they forced to surrender, allowing the inhabitants to march out in their shirts (Y). After these successes, they unanimously conferred the chief command on Simon, count of Montfort, who, though abandoned by the greatest part of his army, continued to act with great vigour, and made himself master of several towns ° (Z).

In the course of the following year, Innocent wrote to the count of Thoulouse, who was again suspected of favouring the heretics, and threatened, if he gave them any retreat in his territories, to order the extirpers of heresies to take possession of all his estates. Notwithstanding this declaration, Raymund soon after entirely abandoned the catholics, and was excommunicated in a council of bishops at St. Gille. Mean while, Simon Montfort having received several new reinforcements of croises from France and Germany, proceeded in his conquests, but not without frequent considerable losses to his own army, as his enemies, who were driven to despair, made a most obstinate resistance. A.D 1210.

° Hist. Albigens. cap. xiv. usque xxxii. Hist. Comitum Tolos. Guil. Catelli, lib. ii. cap. 6.

(Y) The transactions of Simon Monfort against the Albigenses, are circumstantially related by Peter Villassarnensis, who observes, that if the croises had not separated after the surrendering of Carcassone, they would have soon conquered the heretics; but as the expedition was only undertaken by them to enjoy the benefit of the indulgencies, they no sooner appeared at the camp than they returned home, thinking that they had performed their vow, so that the legates were obliged to determine the time which gave a title to the indulgence, which they ordained to be forty days at least.

(Z) This year the pope confirmed the order of the most Holy Trinity, for the redemption of captives; which, according to Robert Gaguin, afterwards grand-master, was first instituted in the year 1198, by John de Mala, a divine of Paris, and Felix, a monk, in the Pays de Veaux, who, after living in a solitary manner for several years, arrived at Rome, where they obtained the confirmation of the rules of their order, and were appointed to wear white garments, with a blue and red cross (1).

(1) Gaguin. Hist. Franc. lib. vi.

SECT. VII.

Frederick of Sicily raised to the Imperial Throne. His Disputes with a Succession of Popes, and his Death.

The emperor Otho is excommunicated by the pope.

THE emperor Otho still continued in Italy, by the advice of Diopold or Berthold, whom he created duke of Spoleto: he seized upon the territories of the church in Tuscany and Romaniola; and by the assistance of the Pisan fleet invaded the dominions of the king of Sicily in Apulia. Innocent having in vain endeavoured to persuade him to desist from hostilities, at last denounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against him, which he ordered to be published in Italy and Germany, and commanded his legate to punish the bishops canonically, who neglected to execute his orders[a]. Otho paid no regard to this sentence, but continued his conquests in Apulia, and even threatened to revenge upon the ecclesiastics, the indignity he had received; however, in Germany the archbishops of Mentz and of Triers, with several other nobles, assembled in the beginning of December, and chose Frederic, king of Sicily, then sixteen years of age, who had been declared king of the Romans when an infant.

Several nobles of Germany chuse Frederic of Sicily as emperor.

Innocent reproves several princes in Europe.

While these things were transacting in Germany, Innocent wrote to Henry, emperor of Constantinople, ordering him to repeal the law, which he had made, that no person should leave any of his immoveable estates to the church. It appears by the letters of the pope, that Henry complied with his desire. Besides this letter to the emperor, Innocent wrote to the king of Bohemia, ordering him and the two queens to submit to the judgment of the apostolic see, and to send proxies to Rome. He likewise wrote to the bishops of England, directing them to admonish the king to submit to the church; he ordered the bishop of Samora to put the king of Portugal under an interdict, if he did not make satisfaction for the injuries done to the bishops of that kingdom; and he charged the king of France to make restitution of the revenues of the bishops of Orange and Toulon, which he had seized.

[a] Spond. Annales.

One

One of the ambaſſadors from the nobles of Germany arriving at Rome, informed Innocent of the election of Frederic, and having obtained his confirmation of the election, proceeded to Sicily, and acquainted Frederic with his promotion to the imperial dignity. Innocent not only confirmed the election of Frederic, but ſent Gerhard, biſhop of Novara, as his legate, to prevail with the cities of Lombardy to abandon the party of Otho, and took under his protection all thoſe who ſhould furniſh money or other aſſiſtance againſt that enemy of the church [b]. Otho, who was proceeding in his conqueſts in Apulia, being informed of this revolution in Germany, returned by ſea to Lombardy, and having put the Italian cities that had revolted, to the ban of the empire, marched immediately with his army to Germany, though in the middle of a very ſevere winter. A D. 1211. *He confirms the election of Frederic;*

Innocent in the mean time ſent two legates into England, to endeavour to reconcile the king to the church; but John refuſing to make reſtitution for the loſſes of the prieſts, and conſenting only to allow thoſe who were baniſhed to return, Innocent recalled his legates, and having again excommunicated the king, abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance, conferred his kingdom upon the king of France, and exhorted him and the croiſes to make war upon him. He likewiſe excommunicated the king of Armenia, becauſe he had ſeized the poſſeſſions of the Knights Templars in his dominions, and refuſed to ſubmit to the judgment of the apoſtolic ſee [c]. Sancho, king of Portugal, was alſo reproved by him, and threatened with an anathema, becauſe he uſurped the poſſeſſions of eccleſiaſtics, and impriſoned the biſhops who propoſed to viſit the ſee of Rome. *and depoſes the king of England.*

In the mean time Frederic, king of Sicily, having left the adminiſtration of that kingdom to his queen Conſtantia, ſiſter of the king of Arragon, arrived at Rome, in his way to Germany, and was received with great honour by the pope. Innocent, however, delayed conferring upon him the imperial crown; but ſent a cardinal legate into Germany, to deſire the nobles and cities of that kingdom to abandon Otho, and ſubmit to Frederic. After a ſhort ſtay at Rome, Frederic went by ſea to Genoa, from whence he paſſed over the Alps into Germany, and arrived at Conſtance, with an eſcort of ſixty horſe, notwithſtanding the attempts of ſeveral of the Italian ci- *Frederic arrives at Rome;* *and goes for Germany.*

[b] Sigon. lib. xvi. p. 16. [c] Spond. Annales.

ties,

ties, and the partisans of Otho in Germany, who endeavoured to intercept him on his journey.

A.D. 1212. *A crusade against the Moors in Spain.*

While Germany was embroiled by the two factions of Frederic and Otho, Innocent, by his letters, exhorted the Christians of Europe to undertake a crusade against the Moors in Spain; in consequence of which exhortation, no less than a hundred and ten thousand foreigners crowded into that kingdom, the greatest part of whom were obliged to return, upon account of the excessive heat of the climate. However, those who continued, being joined by a great number of Spaniards, about the middle of July gained a signal victory over the Moors, who are said to have lost a hundred thousand men in the battle [d]. Alphonsus, king of Arragon, immediately informed the pope of this victory, and sent the chief standard of Mahomet to Rome, which was hung up in St. Peter's church, where the Mooriſh prince had boasted that he would erect it in person [e]. Cardinal Robert de Corceo, being sent by Innocent as his legate into France, to encourage a crusade against the Albigenses, held a council at Paris, in which several decrees were made for the reformation of manners, and restoring the discipline of the church.

A.D. 1213. *A new crusade preached.*

While his legate in France was encouraging a crusade against the Albigenses, Innocent sent circular letters through Europe, addressed to all the faithful, exhorting them to an expedition into the Holy Land. He likewise published other letters, addressed to all the bishops and nobles in Christendom, inviting them to a general council, to be held at Rome at the end of thirty months. In consequence of the pope's letters, the crusade was preached with so great ardour, that upwards of thirty thousand boys took the cross, and by no means could be diverted from the expedition into the Holy Land. In imitation of them, many old people, and persons of both sexes, likewise took the cross; but the greatest part of the boys being seized by pirates, and sold to the Saracens, or perishing in deserts for want of subsistence, the others were at length prevailed upon to return home [f].

The emperor Frederic, being now master of the greatest part of Germany towards the Rhine, was crowned at Aix la Chapelle, by the archbishop of Mentz; but, before his coronation, in gratitude to the pope, he drew up

[d] Roder. de Reb. Hisp. lib. viii. Marian. lib. xi. cap. 23, & seq.
[e] Cæsarius, v. Dial. 21.
[f] Cantiprat ii. de Apip. iii. sect. xvi. Math. Paris in Joan. Reg.

a writing,

a writing, in which he promised obedience to Innocent and his successors, and to restore to the Roman church all the possessions which it had received from his ancestors or others, particularly specifying the March of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, and the territory of the countess Mathilda. After having confirmed this writing by an oath, in presence of the ecclesiastics, he, with many of the nobles, made a vow of undertaking an expedition for the relief of the Christians in the Holy Land [g]. *The emperor takes the cross.* While he thus strengthened his party in Germany, Innocent omitted nothing to prevail with the cities of Lombardy to favour his interest; and as the city of Milan, from a hatred to the race of Barbarossa, distinguished itself by its fidelity to Otho, he threatened to confirm the sentence of excommunication that had been denounced against them by his legate; to prevail with the king of France and the nobles of that kingdom and Italy to retain their manufactures, and not to pay them their debts; to absolve the bishops of Lombardy from the jurisdiction of their archbishop; and, lastly, to order the croises to attack their city. Innocent, at the same time, wrote to the king of England, extolling him for this wisdom and piety in resigning his crown into the hands of his legate Pandulphus, and for rendering his kingdom tributary to the holy see [h]. *The king of England declares his kingdom tributary to the holy see.* By this concession John having rendered himself odious to his nobles, who refused to attend him in an expedition into Guienne against the king of France, the pope gave orders to Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, to absolve him from the sentence of excommunication.

Mean while the pope, upon the complaints of the king of Arragon, the count of Thoulouse, and many other counts, against the proceedings of Simon Montfort, and the apostolic legate in the province of Narbonne, ordered a council to be held in the city Vaurum, under the direction of the archbishop of Narbonne as his legate. The council refusing to redress the grievances complained of, the king of Arragon and the nobles immediately had recourse to arms, and assembled an army of upwards of a hundred thousand men; but Simon Montfort, according to the authors of those times [i], having only a

[g] Trithem. Chron. Sigon. de Regno Ital. lib. xvi. p. 18.
[h] Harpsfield. Hist. Eccles. Ang. sect. xiii. cap. 2. [i] Hist. Albigens. cap. 66. usque 73. Gulliel. de Pod. Laurentii, cap. 21. 22. Brit. Philip, lib. viii. Vita Innocent. apud Murator. tom. iii.

thousand

A remarkable victory gained by Simon Montfort.

thousand men, ventured to engage them, and gained a complete victory, killing the king of Arragon, with twenty thousand of the enemy, he himself losing only one miles, or knight, and a very few servientes, or squires.

At this period, Innocent sent Pelagius, a Spaniard, as his legate to Constantinople, to prevail with the Greeks to submit to the church of Rome. Though Pelagius acted with great severity, imprisoning the monks, putting the priests in irons, and shutting up the churches, yet he could not prevail with the people to forsake their ancient rites; and the emperor, at their solicitation, notwithstanding the opposition of the legate, opened the churches, and set the prisoners at liberty [k].

A.D. 1214. In the following year, Innocent sent Peter of Benevento, a cardinal-deacon, as his legate into the province of Narbonne, to demand from Simon Montfort the young son of the late king of Arragon, whom he restored to his subjects. Being informed that the Saracens inclined to

A.D. 1215. quit the Holy Land to the see of Rome, on condition of receiving a yearly tribute from the patriarch of Jerusalem, and obtaining security for their other conquests, he wrote to Sephadine, soltan of Damascus and Babylon, exhorting him to an exchange of captives, and to deliver up the Holy Land, to prevent any more effusion of blood [l].

The pope writes to the soltan of Damascus.

Orders his legate to crown the emperor Frederic;

Mean while, being informed that the emperor Otho had been entirely defeated by the king of France, in the famous battle of Bovines, and forced to fly into Saxony, he gave authority to his legate, the archbishop of Mentz, to crown Frederic again at Aix la Chapelle, where this emperor renewed his vow of an expedition into the Holy Land. Innocent likewise sent a nuncio with a mandate to Simon Monfort, confirming to him the provinces of Guienne and Narbonne, which had been granted to him by a council held in the beginning of the year at Montpellier. About the same time, having received a deceitful embassy from the king of England, complaining that his nobles had obliged him by force to publish laws that were destructive to the kingdom, although he had appealed from their violence to the holy see, Innocent, by a bull, annulled the agreement that had been made between the king and the nobles, and ordered them to be

[k] Spond. Annales.

[l] Richard. de S. German. apud Murator. tom. vii. p. 988.

obedient

obedient to their king, who had assumed the cross, and become a vassal of the Roman church. The nobles paying no regard to this sentence, but resolving to defend their privileges by arms, the pope ordered Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, to excommunicate them, distinguishing them first by the title of disturbers of the public peace, and afterwards by that of barons; Stephen refusing to execute the mandate of the pope, was suspended from his office. Innocent in the mean time ordered Conrad, a monk of Marpurg, apostolical inquisitor in Germany, to proceed against a new sect of heretics in the diocese of Strasburgh, who were accused of believing that fornication was no sin, and that it was lawful to eat flesh on every day of the year. Conrad exerted himself in his inquisition with more zeal than prudence; for trusting solely to the proof of the red hot iron, he put more innocent than guilty persons to death [m]. During these transactions in Germany, Innocent, having gone to Ferentino, deposed the abbot of Monte Cassino, for disobedience and other crimes, and appointed one Stephen in his place.

and holds a general council at Rome.

Upon his return to Rome, he opened the famous Lateran council, at which were present the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, four hundred and twelve archbishops and bishops, both Greek and Latin, besides the proxies of the absent, and upwards of eight hundred abbots and priors, the whole number of prelates being one thousand two hundred and fifteen, besides the ambassadors of the emperors Frederic and Henry, and of the kings of France, England, Hungary, Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Arragon, and deputies from other princes, nobles, and states [n]. The archbishop of Milan appeared likewise as ambassador from the emperor Otho, who offered to submit to the decision of the council; but the marquis of Montferrat rising up in defence of Frederic, and urging, with great vehemence, several things against Otho, as a person excommunicated and perjured, his ambassador was not admitted by the pope, who went out of the church to put a stop to the disturbance that was arising in the assembly on that account [o].

The council made many decrees for restraining and punishing heretics; explained the doctrine of the Trinity;

[m] Trithem. in Chron. Sponheim. Naucler. Gener. [n] Vita Innocent. ubi supra. [o] Chron. de S. Germ. ubi supra.

and

and admitted the word transubstantiation of the bread and wine in the eucharist. They granted large privileges and indulgences to those who should undertake the expedition into the Holy Land; and denounced an anathema against all who furnished the Saracens with ships, arms, or assistance of any kind. The sentence against the archbishop of Canterbury was confirmed, and the English barons, with Lewis the son of the king of France, to whom they had offered their crown, were excommunicated. The emperor Frederic having promised not to annex the kingdom of Sicily to the empire, his election was confirmed, as were likewise the acts of the council of Montpellier in favour of Simon Montfort. Several canons were also made regarding the sacraments, the reformation of manners, and the state and discipline of the church [P]. At this council were present St. Dominic (A)

[P] Spond. Annal. Mat. Paris, Hist. Albigens. lib. iii.

(A) Dominic de Guſman was born, according to some at Calahorra, but, according to others, at Calavega in Spain, in the year 1170. After finishing his studies at the university, Didacus, or Diego, bishop of Osma, gave him a canonry in his cathedral, and afterwards made him subprior. He accompanied Diego, in 1206, to Rome, and returning with him to Thoulouse, he remained in that province, and, by his great zeal in converting the Albigenses to the faith of Rome, was greatly reverenced by the Catholics, and respected by Simon Montfort. With the design of bringing the Albigenses to submit to the church, he had instituted an order of preachers, and came to Rome to have it confirmed by the council. Innocent had made him his inquisitor in Languedoc, but gave only a verbal approbation to his order; which was confirmed the following year by Honorius III. This order has multiplied to such a degree, that at present it is divided into forty-five provinces, eleven of which are in Asia, Africa, and America, without reckoning twelve congregations governed by vicars-general. It has given to the church of Rome three popes, forty-eight cardinals, twenty-three patriarchs, forty-three legates, six hundred archbishops, fifteen hundred bishops, &c. The inquisitors of the faith in many countries, for a long time, were likewise taken from this order; but at present the Dominicans exercise that office only in thirty-two tribunals of Italy, in quality of provincial inquisitors, and as delegates of the cardinals, who compose the congregation of the holy office (1).

(1) Theodoric de Podio, in Vita Dominic.

and

and St. Francis (B), desiring the confirmation of the orders they had lately instituted. Innocent having formerly approved of the order of St. Francis, ratified it in the council; but as Dominic had not yet formed a rule for the members of his order, the pope gave him only a verbal approbation, but promised to grant a confirmation of

(B) St. Francis was born in 1182, at Assisi, a city of the ecclesiastical state. At his baptism he was called John, but acquired the name of Francis afterwards from his knowlege of the French language. He spent the first years of his life as a merchant, which was the profession of his father; but the poor of Lyons being then the subject of conversation, Francis renounced all temporal possessions, and likewise made profession of evangelical poverty, in conformity to Christ and his apostles. His austerities were so extraordinary, that he was reckoned by his fellow-citizens a madman, and his father even caused him to be put in prison; but, finding that nothing could prevail with him to alter his resolution, he again set him at liberty. By his preaching and manner of life, he quickly gained a great many disciples; upon which he formed a design of instituting a new order, and, in the year 1208, came to Rome, and received the approbation of the pope, which Innocent this year again confirmed in the Lateran council. Francis having established several convents of his order in Italy, travelled through France and Spain, with the design of going to preach the Gospel in Africa; but being prevented by a distemper from passing into Africa, he established several convents in Spain and France, and returned to Rome; from whence he went to Damiata in Egypt, and offered to the soltan to throw himself into the fire to prove the truth of the Christian religion. Upon his return to Rome, he received from pope Honorius III. a confirmation of his order for women as well as men: he then resigned his generalship, and retired to one of the highest of the Appenine mountains, where, it is pretended, he saw a seraphim, from whence his order is called Seraphic. Being weakened by his great austerities, and continual preaching, he was attacked with several distempers, and died at his native city, in the forty-fifth year of his age. His followers, at first were called Poor Minors, in opposition to the poor of Lyons, but afterwards they took the name of Brothers Minors, or Friar Minors, laying aside the title of Poor, that they might not seem to boast of the poverty of which they made profession. Their order is the most numerous in all Christendom, and was divided by St. Francis into three branches, the friar minors, the poor sisters, and the penitents of both sexes (z).

(z) S. Bonaventur. in Vita Francisc.

of

of the order, when St. Dominic should once have fixed upon a rule.

A.D. 1216. The council being dismissed, Innocent, next year, sent Gualo, or Walo, as his legate into France, to order Lewis, under pain of excommunication, to desist from his intention of invading England; but that prince paying no regard to the remonstrances of the legate, and in the beginning of May transporting his troops into Britain, Walo privately sailed thither after him, and published against him a sentence of excommunication. Innocent confirmed the sentence, and likewise proposed to excommunicate his father Philip, king of France, whom he suspected to have assisted him in his enterprize; but, being prevailed upon to defer that sentence, he in the mean time conferred the church of St. Benedict in Capua upon the late abbot of Monte Cassino, and sent two cardinal legates, with special mandates, to Milan, who calling a council in that city, required them, in the name of the pope, to forsake the party of Otho, and to cease hostilities against their neighbouring cities. The inhabitants of Milan refusing obedience to their demands, the legates excommunicated them, and laid their city under an interdict [q]. This sentence only exasperating them, they assembled a great army, and passing the Po, made an irruption into the territory of Pavia. At the same time the Pisans and Genoese being at war, Innocent resolved to go in person, into Lombardy, to put an end to the dissensions among the cities in that part of Italy, in order to promote an expedition into the Holy Land; but he died on his journey, at Perugia, on the 14th of July, and was buried in the cathedral church of that city [r].

Lewis, son of the king of France, is excommunicated for invading England.

Death of Innocent,

Election of Honorius III.

Two days after the death of Innocent, the cardinals present elected Cencius Labellus, a Roman, and cardinal-priest, who took the name of Honorius III. Upon his arrival at Rome, he wrote to the emperor Frederic, desiring him to resign the kingdom of Sicily, and to leave it to the disposal of the apostolic see [s]. Soon after St. Dominic returning from Thoulouse, and declaring that he was content with the rule of St. Austin, Honorius confirmed his order by a bull, signed by himself and twenty-two cardinals.

[q] Sigon, lib. xvi. cap. 22. Blond. dec. vi. lib. ii. [r] Vita Innocent. apud Murat. Platina. in Vit. Pont. [s] Spond. Annales.

Mean

Mean while Peter de Courtenai, count of Toulon, who, the year before, had been chosen emperor of Constantinople, arriving at Rome with his wife Jolanta, Honorius on the 10th of April crowned him emperor, in the church of St. Laurence, without the city, that he might not pretend to any authority in the western empire. At the same time he wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople, declaring that he did not intend to infringe his privileges, but that, after he had denied it several times, he had consented to crown the emperor, at the earnest solicitation of Peter himself, and many other nobles[t]. The croises in great numbers assembling in Germany, France, Hungary, and Italy, Honorius appointed the cardinal Columna as his legate in Greece and Syria, and sent him to the emperor Peter, and a considerable army to Brindisi. From Brindisi the empress returned directly for Constantinople, but the emperor and the legate sailed over the streight with the forces, and besieged Durazzo, which was then possessed by Theodore Comnenus, a Greek, and prince of Epire. After continuing a considerable time before the city, they were obliged to raise the siege, and marched over-land for Constantinople, but were intercepted, and cut off by Theodore, in the woods of Thessaly, the emperor and legate, with many others, being taken prisoners.

A.D. 1217.

The emperor of Constantinople crowned at Rome;

who is taken prisoner in Thessaly, together with the pope's legate.

In the mean time great part of the German croises, with those of Hungary, under the command of Andrew their king, embarked at Venice for the Holy Land, while those of Westphalia and Saxony, having embarked upon the Elb, and joined the Grisons and Flemings, passed the streight of Gibraltar, and arrived at Gaeta[u]. At the same time others were embarking at Genoa, Pisa, and Messina. Honorius, in the mean while, wrote to Alexander, king of Scotland, desiring him to break his alliance with Lewis, who was invading England. He likewise confirmed the disposition of his kingdoms, made by Andrew, king of Hungary, before his departure for the Holy Land, and ratified the agreement made betwixt the emperor Frederic and Waldemar, king of Denmark. He received the consuls and people of Montpellier under the protection of the apostolic see, and reproved the king of Bohemia, because the clergy in his kingdom were not only subjected to secular courts, but likewise capitally

[t] Spond. Annal. Richard. de S. Germ. Chron. [u] Idem ibid.

punished by laymen; because he slighted the interdict denounced by the archbishop of Prague, imposed grievous exactions upon clergymen, and usurped the investiture of churches. His holiness likewise prohibited the Pisans from invading Sardinia, laid the inhabitants of Milan and Placenza under an interdict, for attacking the Cremonese, and threatened to send his chaplain to reform the monastery of Monte Cassino, which, he complained, was become a sink of all manner of vices.

A.D. 1218.

The legate is set at liberty.

In the course of the following year, at the intreaty of the pope, John de Columna, who had been taken prisoner with the emperor Peter, was set at liberty, and went to the empress Jolanta at Constantinople, the croises being then besieging Damiata, in Egypt. In the mean time, Honorius, being forced by the tumults of the Romans to quit the city, retired to Reate, and being informed that Simon Montfort had lately been killed by a stone at the siege of Thoulouse, he wrote to the king of France to assist the Catholics in that province, who were in great distress; and he prohibited James, king of Arragon, from giving any protection or assistance to Raymond the late count of Thoulouse, or to any of his followers. He likewise wrote to the bishop of Wincheſter, and to Walo his legate in England, ordering them to compel the king, by ecclesiastical censures, to cease from oppressing the two dowager queens, Berengaria and Isabel, the widows of Richard and John; and, lest the bishops, by the instigation of the king, should inflict any censure upon the two queens, he exempted them from their jurisdiction, and took them under the protection of the apostolic see, which favour he also conferred upon Alexander, king of Scotland; it being usual with the popes, about this period, from what they called the plenitude of their power, to grant protections and exemptions to particular princes, who, by the influence of their money, or blind submission to the tyrannical usurpations of the court of Rome, rendered themselves worthy to be accounted favourites. Honorius at the same time, being desirous of restoring peace to the cities of Lombardy, absolved the inhabitants of Milan from the censures under which they had been laid by Innocent, and gave a commission to cardinal Hugolin to conclude a peace among the cities who were at war. Hugolin effected an accommodation without great difficulty; and as the emperor Otho had lately died at Hartzburgh, Milan and the other cities of his party embraced that

Honorius writes to the king of France to assist the Catholics in Thoulouse.

A peace concluded between the cities of Lombardy.

that opportunity of putting an end to the destructive war.

During these transactions in Europe, a great many croises, wearied with the fatigues of the siege of Damiata, returned home; but a new body arriving, under the command of cardinal Pelagius and James, count of Andria, Damiata was at last taken, in the month of November, after a siege of eighteen, or, according to others, twenty-two months, during which upwards of seventy-five thousand Saracens were slain [w]. The soltan of Damascus, being alarmed at the successes of the Christians, immediately ordered the walls of the city of Jerusalem to be destroyed, that, if the Christians again got possession of that country, it might not serve them for a place of defence. Mean while the king of France, at the intreaty of Honorius, having concluded a truce for four years with the king of England, sent his son Lewis with an army again the Albigenses, who, after continuing some months before Thoulouse, was obliged to raise the siege, and retire; upon which a great number of castles again submitted to count Raymond [x]. While Lewis was before Toulouse, Reginald, king of the islands in the neighbourhood of Britain, made a solemn resignation of the Isle of Man to the Roman church, and received the investiture of it again from Pandulphus, the apostolic legate, and bishop of Norwich, promising to pay an annual tribute of twelve marks sterling, and desiring to be taken under the protection of the holy see [y].

A.D. 1219.

The croises take Damiata.

The king of France sends his son with an army against the Albigenses.

In the course of the following year, the emperor Frederic, having settled the affairs of Germany, entered Italy with a considerable army, attended by his queen Constantia, in order to receive the imperial crown. The inhabitants of Milan refusing to admit him into their city, he dissembled his resentment, and directed his march for Rome. While he was encamped at St. Leo, in the duchy of Urbino, he took the usual oath to the pope's legate, to defend all the rights and possessions of the Roman see; and, upon his arriving at the city, having again renewed the oath, Honorius crowned him and his queen emperor and empress in the church of St. Peter; after which ceremony Frederic again renewed his vow of performing a crusade, and received the cross from the hands

A.D. 1220.

The emperor enters Italy with an army;

and is crowned with the empress at Rome.

[w] Chron. de S. Germ. Bernar. Thesaur. de Acquisit. Ter. Sanct. apud Murator. tom. vii. [x] Guill. de Pod. Chron. cap. 32.
[y] Spon. Annales.

of cardinal Hugolin. The same day he likewise published several edicts against heretics, for the liberty of the churches, and the security of husbandmen and travellers, which were confirmed by Honorius, who ordered them to be observed through all the church [z]. As the winter was already advanced, Frederic excused himself from going into Syria, upon account of the danger of the navigation; and, leaving Rome, held a general assembly of the states at Capua, where he created Thomas de Aquino count of Acerra, and chief justiciary of Apulia; then marching with his army to Calabria, he passed over into Sicily, and held an assembly of the states at Messina [a]. Mean while St. Dominic assembled the first general chapter of his order at Bologna, where the vow of poverty was confirmed, and the curse of God denounced against those who should seek to pervert the order of Preachers, by leaving them temporal possessions [b].

A.D. 1221. At the same time Honorius, having received pressing letters from the croises in Egypt, desiring him to send them speedy assistance, he wrote to the emperor, who was then employed in reducing the Saracens in Sicily, urging him to fulfil his vow of an expedition into the Holy Land, as the croises were then without a commander, John, king of Jerusalem having quarrelled with cardinal Pelagius, and retired to Ptolemais. The pope likewise reproved the emperor for having presumed to dispose of the bishoprick of Aversa, and the vacant fees of the province of Salerno. Frederic found it necessary for his affairs to continue in Europe; however, that he might not seem altogether to neglect his vow, he sent a considerable body of troops into Egypt, under the command of the duke of Bavaria; and ordered the twentieth part of the possessions of ecclesiastics, and the tythe of those of laymen, to be collected through his kingdom, which money he sent, with forty-three gallies, to Damiata, under the command of Walter de Palear the chancellor, and the count of Malta. But, before their arrival, the Christian army, by the imprudence and obstinacy of cardinal Pelagius, had been exposed to such difficulties, by the overflowing of the Nile, that, to save themselves from perishing, they were obliged to deliver up Damiata to the soltan, and to conclude a truce with him for eight years [c].

The pope urges him to go to the assistance of the croises;

who are obliged to deliver up Damiata.

[z] Sigon. lib. xvii. p. 28. Bellarm. tom. i. Honor. III. Abbas Ursperg. [a] Chron. de S. Germ. [b] Spond. Annal. [c] Chron. de S. Germ.

Mean

Mean while, Honorius ſent cardinal Gregory as his legate into Poland, Bohemia, Sweden, and Denmark, with full power to reform the abuſes in thoſe kingdoms; and diſpatched the cardinal Conrad, biſhop of Porta, as his legate into Thoulouſe: but being ſoon after informed of the loſs of Damiata, he wrote to the emperor Frederic, ſeverely blaming him for delaying his expedition into the Holy Land, at the ſame time accuſing him of violating the rights of the church by nominating biſhops, and laying taxes upon eccleſiaſtics. Frederic excuſed himſelf from going into the Holy Land, by the neceſſity of his affairs; but he recriminated upon the pope for affording protection to ſeveral diſaffected nobles whom he had baniſhed. He juſtified his proceedings with regard to the eccleſiaſtics in his kingdom, by pretending only to exerciſe the ſame prerogatives which had been enjoyed by his predeceſſors; and alleging, that the treaty concluded betwixt his mother Conſtantia and Innocent III. was of no force.

Difference between the pope and the emperor,

To prevent this miſunderſtanding with the pope from proceeding to an open rupture, a conference was held at Veroli, in the month of April, between Honorius and Frederic; and it was propoſed that a congreſs ſhould be held in the month of November, at Verona, to which the Chriſtian princes ſhould be invited, to conſult for the relief of the Holy Land [d]. Frederic, in the mean time, to ſatisfy the pope, reſigned the poſſeſſions of the counteſs Mathilda into the hands of the apoſtolic legate, and publiſhed ſevere edicts againſt the heretics, which ſeem to have been adopted by the tribunal of the inquiſition. He ordered that thoſe, who were convicted of hereſy, ſhould be deprived of their offices, and puniſhed as traitors; that thoſe who relapſed into the errors which they had abjured, ſhould be puniſhed with death; and that the children of heretics, to the ſecond generation, ſhould be deprived of all offices and fiefs, unleſs they became informers againſt their parents [e].

A.D. 1222.

who have a conference at Veroli.

In the mean time, John, king of Jeruſalem, with the patriarch of that city, and the maſters of the Knights Templars and Hoſpitallers, arrived at Rome. The conference appointed to be held at Verona having been transferred to Ferentino, in the following year Honorius, with the emperor, the king of Jeruſalem, and other nobles,

A.D. 1223.

Another conference between the emperor and the pope.

[d] Chron. S. Germ. Villan. Hiſt. lib. vi. cap. 1. [e] Petr. de Vineiſ. lib. i. Ep. 25 & 26.

assembling in that city, Frederic again engaged by oath to go within two years to the relief of the Holy Land; and, in order to interest him the more in that expedition, the pope, as the empress was lately dead, prevailed with him to promise to marry Jolanta, the only daughter and heiress of the king of Jerusalem. The conference being concluded, Frederic returned to the kingdom of Naples, and gave orders for fitting out a large fleet in the ports of Sicily, while Honorius, who had gone to Rome, wrote to the Christian princes, informing them of the determination of the emperor, and exhorting them to imitate his example. Nuncios were likewise sent into all the provinces, to compose all differences between princes or private persons, and to preach up the crusade, appointing the time of departure for the feast of St. John, in the following year. At the same time, John, king of Jerusalem, went to France, to solicit the assistance of Philip, who dying soon after his arrival, is said to have left him in his will an hundred thousand livres, and as much to each of the masters of the military orders the Templars and Hospitallers.

The Albigenses elect a pope.

The Albigenses, having not only spread into Spain, but even towards Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, where they brought over some bishops to their party, chose a pope, to be the head of their consultations; a circumstance, of which the cardinal legate being informed, he immediately appointed a national council to be held at Sens. But the new pope dying soon after his promotion, without having any successor, the fears of the legate were allayed. This story depends solely upon the authority of Matthew Paris, who is the only ancient author that we have seen who mentions it. However, we find from other authors, that Raymond, the young count of Thoulouse, with many others of the Albigenses, at this time sent ambassadors to Rome, offering to submit to the Roman church; that, upon confirming their obedience with an oath, their submission was accepted, on condition that they became the feudatories of the Roman see, restored the clergy to their possessions, and, within three years, paid twenty-five thousand marks of gold, or, according to some, fifteen thousand, as a reparation of the damages they had done, and should use their utmost endeavours to extirpate heresy from their territories [f].

[f] Antoninus, lib. xiii. cap. 3. sect. 6. Spond. Annal.

During

During these transactions the emperor Frederic, at the solicitation of the pope, set the disaffected counts at liberty, upon their leaving their sons as hostages. In order to soothe the clergy, he published new edicts against the heretics, and ordered that all ecclesiastics, and those belonging to them, should be exempted from the taxes that were levying upon the laymen in his kingdom, unless it could be proved that they were comprehended together with them in those taxes during the reign of William II. [g]. Honorius being informed that Lewis, king of France, had attacked the territories of the king of England in Guienne and Limousin, he wrote to him, desiring him to desist from that war, and to lead his army against the Albigenses, great part of whose territories had now become subject to him by the voluntary resignation of Americus, the son of Simon Montfort. Being soon after obliged to quit the city upon account of the tumults raised by one Parentius a senator, he retired to Tivoli, where he received an embassy from the emperor, desiring a farther prolongation of the time for his expedition into Syria, as he was informed that Milan, Bologna, and other cities in Lombardy, had entered into an association against him; therefore he could not leave Italy at that time, without giving them an opportunity to revolt. Honorius, upon this representation of the emperor, sent for the archbishop of Milan, and the chief of the male-contents, and by their means reconciled the disaffected cities to the emperor; but Frederic then alleging the injustice of breaking the eight years truce concluded with the soltan, detained with him all the prelates of his kingdom till his ambassadors should receive a favourable answer from the pope.

A.D. 1224. *The emperor gratifies the ecclesiastics;*

A.D. 1225. *and desires the pope to prolong the time for the sacred expedition.*

Honorius at length consented that the expediton should be delayed for two years, from the month of August, on condition that the emperor again renewed his vow; and he sent the cardinals Pelagius and Walo to St. Germano, where Frederic, in presence of his nobles, swore to undertake in person the expedition within two years, upon which the legates absolved him from the oath which he had made at Veroli, and denounced against him a conditional sentence of excommunication, if he failed to accomplish his vow [h]. A few months after, Honorius appointing bishops for five vacant churches in the kingdom

[g] Chron. de S. Germ.

[h] Sigon. lib. xvii. p. 32. Chron. de S. Germ.

of Naples, without consulting the emperor, Frederic would not allow them to be admitted, reckoning it an infringement upon his authority; and proceeding to Brindisi, there celebrated his marriage with Jolanta, by some called Isabella, the daughter of the king of Jerusalem (C). In the mean time, according to Matthew Paris, Honorius sent nuncios to all the princes of Christendom, demanding in perpetuity the revenues of two prebendaries in each cathedral, and two cells in each monastery, to be appropriated for the use of the popes; but his nuncios every-where met with a repulse. This demand was made to the princes of Germany by Conrad the pope's legate, who, after the death of the king of France, had come into Germany, to forward the crusade, and this year held a national council in the city of Mentz, in which he published fourteen canons, directly against simony and the concubinage of the clergy, and likewise excommunicated Frederic, count of Isenburgh, who had assassinated his own kinsman (D), Engelbert archbishop of Cologn [i].

An extravagant demand of the pope.

A.D. 1226. The king of Jerusalem, having been forced by the emperor to resign his title in his favour, Honorius conferred upon him the government of the territories of the

The king of Jerusalem resigns his title.

[i] See the History of the German Empire.

(C) Sigonius says the marriage was celebrated at Rome, the pope having, before the ceremony, conferred the crown of Jerusalem upon Jolanta, in the Vatican church; but we have followed the account of Richard the notary of St. Germano, a contemporary author, who is acknowleged by the learned Muratori and others to be exact and impartial in his account of the transactions of Frederic II.

(D) The abbot of Ursperg, and Aventine, relate, that murders were very frequent in Germany about this time, and attribute them to the influence of the doctrines published by the preachers of the crusade, who, in their exhortations to the people, affirmed, that whoever were guilty of parricide, incest, sacrilege, or other crimes, immediately upon their taking the vow, and sewing the cross upon their cloaths, were absolved both from the guilt and the punishment; in consequence of which doctrines very many assassinated those they were at enmity with, and then took the cross, which protected them from all prosecution (1).

(1) Ursperg. in Chron. 1221. Avent. Annal. Bouir. lib. vii.

church

church from Viterbo to Monte Fiascone. Soon after receiving an embassy from Frederic, desiring him to act as mediator in reconciling the associated cities of Lombardy to his authority, Honorius concluded an accommodation upon the following terms: that the emperor should forgive all injuries past, and should revoke all decrees against the associated cities; that they on their side should furnish the emperor with four hundred knights for two years, in his expedition into the Holy Land; that they should conclude a peace with the cities of his party, and observe the laws published by the emperor or the church against the heretics. Upon the conclusion of this peace, the emperor having gone to Sicily, Honorius wrote to him, earnestly desiring a supply of provisions for the city of Rome, which was in great distress; and the time fixed for the departure of the emperor drawing near, he wrote to Germany and Hungary, pressing the crusade with great earnestness; but, while the croises were entering Italy in great numbers, he died at Rome, on the 18th of March, and was buried in the church of St. Mary Major.

A.D. 1229. *A peace between the emperor and the cities of Lombardy.* *Death of Honorius.*

Two days after the death of Honorius, the cardinals unanimously chose Hugolin, born at Anagni, of the noble family of the Conti, and cardinal-bishop of Ostia, who took the name of Gregory IX. and, immediately after his promotion, wrote to the emperor, desiring him, under the pain of an anathema, to depart for the Holy Land as soon as possible. Frederic being able to plead no excuse for his delay, appointed the month of August for the embarkation at Brindisi, whither the croises were resorting from all parts, no less than sixty thousand, according to Mathew Paris, having come from England. About the same time the archbishop of Palermo returning from the soltan, brought with him an elephant, several mules, and many other valuable presents for the emperor, which occasioned a suspicion afterwards that Frederic had entered into a treaty with the soltan, and, upon that account, had thwarted the expedition into the Holy Land. However, till the time of the embarkation, Frederic appeared very active and earnest in forwarding the preparations for the voyage. He ordered several prelates in the kingdom of Naples to make ready for the expedition, and required the abbot of Monte Cassino to furnish a hundred 'squires, well armed, for one year, in place of whom he afterwards accepted one thousand two hundred

Gregory IX. is elected.

dred ounces of gold, raiſed from the lands of the monaſtery. The croiſes being expoſed to the exceſſive heats of the ſummer in the neighbourhood of Brindiſi, without any ſhelter, were attacked with various diſtempers, which occaſioned great mortality; but the time for the embarkation at length arriving, they were ordered on board, and put to ſea. Three days afterwards Frederic put into Otranto with the landgrave of Heſſe, who died in that city, and the emperor himſelf falling ſick, or pretending to be ſo, laid aſide all thoughts of proſecuting the voyage; upon which account upwards of forty thouſand of the croiſes likewiſe returned [k].

The croiſes embark for the Holy Land.

The emperor is excommunicated.

Gregory, who was then at Anagni, hearing of the return of the emperor, immediately declared that he had thereby expoſed himſelf to the ſentence of excommunication formerly denounced againſt him at St. Germano. And returning ſoon after to Rome, though the archbiſhops of Reggio and Bari, with the duke of Spoleto and the count of Malta, had come as ambaſſadors from the emperor, pleading the excuſe of his illneſs, he gave no credit to their report; but, aſſembling as many biſhops from Lombardy and Naples as he could bring together, he publicly excommunicated the emperor, and wrote to all the princes in Chriſtendom, informing them of the ſentence. Frederic, in the mean time, arriving at Capua, and being informed of the proceedings of the pope, ſent letters in juſtification of himſelf to Germany, and the Chriſtian princes; and calling an aſſembly of the ſtates at Capua, appointed the 9th of May next year, for the time of his embarkation.

During theſe tranſactions in Italy, the pope's legate in France, having quieted the factions among the nobles, occaſioned by their diſputes about the guardianſhip of the young king, and having prevailed with them to ſubmit to the adminiſtration of the queen, according to the diſpoſition of Lewis, who had died the year before in Thouloufe, he aſſembled the forces of the kingdom againſt the remains of the Albigenſes.

A.D. 1228. The emperor, in the mean time, having, by his money, procured a ſtrong party in Rome, ſent a juſtification of himſelf in writing to that city, which was publicly read in the Capitol, with the conſent of the ſenate and people. He likewiſe confiſcated the poſſeſſions of thoſe

Gregory is expelled out of Rome.

[k] Chron. de S. Germ.

eccle-

eccleſiaſtics in his kingdom, who approved of the pope's proceeding, pillaged the houſes of the Knights Templars, and invaded the patrimony of St. Peter. Gregory, in return for theſe outrages, again excommunicated the emperor; but the party of Frederic prevailing in the city, Gregory went from thence to Rieti, and afterwards to Perugia, where he excommunicated Reginald, the ſon of the duke of Spoleto, who had advanced with an army into the duchy of Spoleto and the March of Ancona. The Imperial army, in which were a great many Saracens, paying no regard to the anathema, Gregory ſent John, the late king of Jeruſalem, with a conſiderable body of troops, to oppoſe their ravages; at the ſame time, by his legate, cardinal Godfrey, he excited the aſſociated cities of Lombardy to attack the cities of the emperor's party, and threatened to ſend the late king of Jeruſalem, in a Venetian fleet, to command the croiſes, and recover his kingdom.

The emperor goes to the Holy Land.

Frederic, fearing the departure of king John, at laſt determined on the Syrian expedition; and aſſembling a fleet at Brindiſi, ſailed from thence to the Holy Land; but, before his departure, he wrote to the pope, that he had left a full power with Rainald to conclude a peace with the holy ſee. Gregory was greatly enraged that the emperor had preſumed to depart upon the ſacred expedition before he was reconciled to the holy ſee; and refuſing to have any conference with Rainald, who was a perſecutor of the church, he ſent his army into the kingdom of Naples, commanded by the baniſhed counts, together with Pandulph of Anagni his legate, while he ordered cardinal Colonna and king John to oppoſe the progreſs of the Imperialiſts in the March of Ancona. But Frederic, having left a great many forces in the kingdom of Naples, commanded by expert generals, and having found means to juſtify his delay in the preceding year, acquired a great many friends through all Italy, who alleged that he was unjuſtly perſecuted by the pope. On the other hand, Gregory, diſdaining to retract his proceedings againſt the emperor, uſed every art to bring him to ſubmiſſion. Not contented with ſpiritual arms, he publicly endeavoured, to the utmoſt of his power, to raiſe a general revolt, and ſucceeded ſo well, that all Italy was involved in a war, the cities not only being at variance, but even the inhabitants of the ſame city, and of the ſame family, taking different parties, and perſecuting

Italy involved in a civil war.

persecuting each other with the greatest rancour and animosity [l] (E).

During these disturbances in Italy, Gregory went from Perugia to Assisi, and canonized St. Francis. He likewise wrote to the patriarch of Jerusalem, ordering him to proclaim the emperor excommunicated and perjured, and to prohibit the croises from obeying him. At the same time he endeavoured, by means of his legate, to prevail with the queen-regent of France to declare war against the emperor [m]. That prudent queen however, refused to violate the treaties with Frederic.

A.D.1229. *Frederick concludes a peace with the Saracens, and returns to Italy.*

In the course of the following year, the emperor, being informed that the army of the pope had repulsed his troops from the March of Ancona, and pursued them into the kingdom of Naples, he concluded a truce with the Saracens for ten years, and, after having crowned himself in Jerusalem, returned in May, with a great many German croises, to Brindisi, and sent ambassadors to the pope, desiring a reconciliation [a]: but Gregory was so far from hearkening to terms of peace, that he sent nuncios into the different provinces of Christendom, asserting, that the emperor had betrayed the cause of the Christians, by concluding a truce with the Saracens; and representing the pressing necessities of the church, demanded their assistance against its oppressors. In England, Scotland, and Ireland, the tythe of all moveable effects was raised, not without great severity, for the use of the Roman see [b]: but the nuncios being unsuccessful in the other kingdoms of Europe, and the emperor having, in a few months, recovered Apulia and Campania, Gregory at length hearkened to the proposal of an accommodation, and, in the month of November, sent the master of the Teutonic order, and a cardinal, with preliminary terms, to the em-

[l] Sigonius, lib. xvii. p. 37. Chron. de S. Germ. Sanut. Chron. [m] Matth. Paris. [a] Chron. de S. Germ. [b] Matth. Paris.

(E) These two factions distinguished themselves by the names of Guelphs and Gibelines, the Guelphs denoting the party of the pope, and the Gibelines that of the emperor, which party distinction was first used during the pontificate of Innocent II. and being now revived, continued for a long while after to disturb the peace of Italy, the mutual hatred descending, for many generations, from father to son, and occasioning much bloodshed to both parties, long after they were ignorant of the cause of their animosity.

peror,

peror, at Aquino. At the same time, by means of his legate Walo, he concluded a truce for eight years between Bologna and Mantua[d].

Mean while, Romanus, his legate in France, held a council in Thoulouse, which confirmed the peace concluded the year before with count Raymond, and ordained sixteen very severe canons concerning the method of detecting and punishing heretics, of receiving their conversions and abjurations, and of punishing those who were negligent in discovering them; which canons served for the rules of the inquisition then established at Thoulouse[e]. At the same time, the cardinal bishop of Sabino, legate in Spain, made a progress through that kingdom, and held a council in the dominions of each of the kings, and, in the kingdom of Arragon, dissolved the marriage of the king with Leonora, the aunt of the king of Castile, under pretence of consanguinity, but allowed of the legitimacy of their son Alphonsus, who was heir to the crown[f].

The bishop of Sabino, returning soon after to Italy, found the peace between the emperor and the pope in great forwardness; and, by the great application of the archbishop of Reggio and the master of the Teutonic order, the articles being almost all agreed to, he went with cardinal Thomas of St. Sabina to Capua, to absolve the emperor; but Frederick objecting to one of the articles of the treaty, their journey was without effect. However, Walo, who, the year before had acted as legate in Lombardy, arriving at St. Germano, the emperor at length agreed to refer the disputed article to his determination; and the peace being concluded, Frederick came to Anagni, where, after kissing the pope's feet, he was absolved, and entertained by him for three days[g]. Soon after the conclusion of the peace, Gregory was invited to Rome by the senate; but, before he left Anagni, he wrote to the archbishops and bishops of Naples and Sicily, ordering them to correct the licentious manners of their clergy. He likewise published several severe edicts against the heretics of Germany and Lombardy, who were said to be exceeding numerous, to know one another by private signs, and to have a primate settled in Milan, who re-

A.D. 1230.

A peace concluded between him and the pope.

[d] Sigon. lib. xvii. cap. 38. Marian. Rer. Hispan. lib. xii. cap. 14. p. 40. Chron. de S. Germ.

[e] Chron. de Podio Laurentii.

[f] Sigon. lib. xvii.

ceived

ceived from the other provinces a yearly revenue. In consequence of those edicts of the pope, many of the heretics were at this time convicted and burnt.

A.D 1231. *Great dissensions in Lombardy.*

Though the peace was concluded between the emperor and pope, animosity and dissensions still reigned in the cities of Lombardy, especially in those of the emperor's party, who expelled all those who favoured the pope, many of whom were received by the city of Bologna. In Perugia, the emperor's party acted with such violence, that they proscribed all the other faction, the fathers being engaged against the sons, and the sons against the fathers. Gregory, to remedy these disorders, sent cardinal Columna as his legate to Perugia. A great sedition arising in Rome, headed by one Hanibal, a senator, he went himself to Rieti, where he had a conference with the king of Jerusalem, and gave his consent to an alliance between the emperor of Constantinople and his daughter, importing, that, during the minority of the emperor, the king should be administrator of the empire.

The pope is obliged to quit Rome.

He reconciles the inhabitants of Perugia.

The king departing, on board a Venetian fleet, for Constantinople, Gregory proceeded to Perugia, where, having in some measure quieted the disturbances, he conferred a large sum of money upon the late sufferers, and proposed to continue with his court, for some time, in the city. Mean while, being informed that the pretor of Bologna had opposed the bishop in collecting the tythe of the corn, he ordered the city to be laid under an interdict; and hearing that the emperor had seized all the possessions of the knights Templars and Hospitallers in his kingdom for his own use, he wrote to him, desiring him to restore their possessions, as they were under the protection of the church. Having also received letters from the patriarch of Jerusalem, informing him, that the king of Persia was approaching, with a formidable army, to take possession of Syria, he intreated Frederic to think of succouring the Holy Land, which was now his own. He likewise exhorted the kings of France and England to take arms against the Infidels: but the English, instead of assuming the cross against the Saracens, formed an association against the Roman and Italian priests, of whose exactions and oppressions they had, for a long while, complained: the associators, pretending the authority of the king, attacked all those of the Italian nation, and plundered them of their effects; upon which the rioters were excommunicated by the bishops; and Gregory wrote to the king, ordering him

He intreats the emperor to send succours to the Holy Land.

him, under pain of excommunication, to search out and punish the authors of the outrage [h].

The seditious Romans, at this time, attacking Viterbo, and ravaging the territories of that city, Gregory sent the bishop of Ostia thither, with the cardinal of St. Sabina, by whose mediation a peace was concluded between the contending parties. He likewise wrote to his legates, whom he had sent into Lombardy, to reconcile the associated towns with the emperor, desiring them to exhort the new pretor and council of Bologna to restore the possessions of their bishop; and, upon their refusing to comply with his demand, he wrote to the bishops of Spoleto, Parma, and Mantua, to excommunicate the city of Bologna, to publish the sentence in Lombardy, Romaniola, and Tuscany, and to order all the scholars to quit the city. Gregory, in the mean time, went to Spoleto, where he canonized St. Anthony, a monk of the order of Minors, who had died a year before, at Padua, and was become very famous by the miracles pretended to be worked by him since his death. From Spoleto the pope returned soon after to Rieti; and hearing that the Romans, from their hatred to him, were marching with an army to plunder Campania, he sent immediately three cardinals to Rome, who made a composition with the Romans, and, by paying a large sum of money, prevailed with them to recall their army [i].

A.D. 1232.

He reconciles the Romans with the inhabitants of Orvieto.

During these transactions in Italy, Gregory created Gerard, a monk of the Dominican order, as the first bishop of the Russians, and appointed several bishops and abbots as visitors of the monks, nuns, and regular secular clergy, through Christendom, to reform their manners, and restore their discipline. At the same time, he received a letter from Germanus, the patriarch of the Greek church, who, since the taking of Constantinople by the croises, had resided at Nice, in Bithynia. The patriarch acknowleged the supremacy of the Roman church, and offered to use his utmost endeavours to accomplish an union of the Greek and Latin churches. Gregory, in return, promised to send to him religious men, who should explain to him the rites of the Roman church. Accordingly, the following year, he sent two friars of the order of Preachers, and two of the order of Minors, into Bithynia, with letters for the patriarch. He likewise sent some Franciscans, with

He creates a bishop in Russia.

A.D. 1233.

[h] Mat. Paris. [i] Chron. de S. Germ.

letters

letters for the soltan of Damascus, exhorting him to embrace the Christian faith.

The Romans solicit his return to Rome.

A great mortality prevailing in Rome, which almost swept off one half of the inhabitants, the Romans sent a submissive embassy to the pope at Anagni, intreating him to return to the city. Gregory complied with their request; and, upon his return, dispatched other friars of the Franciscan order into Georgia, Babylon, and Africa, to preach the Gospel to the Saracens in those parts. Ever since the peace concluded with the emperor, having laboured in vain, by the cardinals, to reconcile the associated cities of Lombardy to his authority, he now employed the Franciscan and Dominican friars, who were at this time in high reputation, to prevail with the cities to cease their hostilities, and to submit their differences with the emperor to the arbitration of the holy see. Those friars were very successful in their preaching, particularly one friar John, who reconciled the city of Bologna with their bishop, and, upon account of his powerful preaching and appearance of sanctity, was greatly reverenced by the people, who chose him for the arbitrator of all their differences, and submitted, without reluctance, to his regulations for the reformation of manners. From Bologna the friar proceeded through the march of Ancona, from thence to Mantua, and then to Verona, every where recommending peace. The other friars, who were employed in the different parts of Lombardy, had likewise such influence with the people, that they assembled in great numbers, making solemn processions in the cities and fields, with crosses and lighted tapers; so that this year was afterwards termed the year of general devotion [k].

He sends missionaries into Africa and Babylon.

A.D. 1234. Gregory, in the mean time, excommunicated the Florentines for having attacked the territories of Sienna, and gave a commission to the bishop of Vicenza and others to enquire into the truth of the complaints against the doge and senate of Venice, who were accused of having made several decrees against the privileges of the ecclesiastics: he likewise wrote to the king of Hungary, not to deprive the duke of Bosnia of his territories, on account of his having been a heretic, as he was now converted to the faith of the Roman church, by the preaching of the Dominicans [l]. Being informed also, that, by the conquests of the Teutonic order, the Christian religion was prevail-

He excommunicates the Florentines.

[k] Sigon. ubi supra. [l] Spond. Annales.

ing

ing in Prussia, he erected the province of Pomerania into a bishoprick. Soon after, having received a letter from the emperor, desiring his mediation with the cities of Lombardy, he wrote to the associated cities in his favour. Having a conference with him and the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem, a general expedition into Syria was resolved upon, and the chief command conferred upon Theodoric, archbishop of Ravenna, by the joint authority of the pope and the emperor, Gregory appointing him his legate in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and employing the Franciscan and Dominican friars to preach up the crusade in the different kingdoms of Europe.

Exhorts the king of France to march against the Albigenses.

Gregory, at the same time, being informed that the remains of the Albigenses had again taken arms to revenge themselves upon the inquisitors, who acted with great severity, wrote to the king of France, desiring him to march an army into the province of Thoulouse. He likewise ordered a crusade to be preached against the Stadingi, who resided in the confines of Bremen, Saxony, and Friesland, and were infected with heresy (K). In consequence of the pope's bull, and grant of indulgences, a considerable army of croises, under the command of the duke of Brabant, the count of Flanders, and the archbishop of Bremen, marched against the heretics; and, after killing nine thousand of them in an engagement, obliged the rest to submit to the see of Rome.

A new sedition in Rome.

In the mean time, the Romans, renewing their seditions, demanded of the pope that none of their citizens should be subject to excommunication, and that the Roman church should pay an annual tribute to the senate; but

(K) John of Leyden gives us an account of the first rise of this heresy, and attributes it to the avarice of a priest, who, not content with the offering of a denier, given him at Easter by a lady of that province, to testify his contempt, instead of the wafer, put the same denier into her mouth, when she came to communicate. The lady having her eyes shut from devotion, received the piece of money into her mouth, and was in great confusion when she found she could not chew it; attributing it to her own sins that made it impossible for her to swallow the wafer. However, she kept it in her mouth till she went home, and discovering the insult, related it to her husband, who, in a rage, went and murdered the priest, and prevailed with the whole province to renounce the authority of the Roman church (1).

(1) Chron. Belg. lib. xxii. cap. 14.

Gregory rejecting their demand, they expelled him from the city. He retired again to Perugia; but being joined by some of the emperor's troops, he ruined several villas belonging to the Romans, who in return marched with a numerous army against Viterbo, a city in the pope's interest; but the pope's army being strengthened by the Germans, forced them to an engagement, and obliged them to retire to the city with considerable loss[m]. The peace among the Lombard cities was of as short a continuance as that in Rome; for, instead of putting in execution the resolutions they had been inspired with by the preaching of the monks, their former dissensions were renewed, with as much animosity as ever.

Hostilities between the Romans and the army of the pope.

A.D.1235. While Gregory resided at Perugia, he appointed several Dominican friars inquisitors of the faith in different kingdoms and provinces, and published an edict, regulating the manner of proceeding against the Cathari, Patereni, and Bulgari, or Bugari, who, according to Matthew Paris, were very numerous at this time in the neighbourhood of the Alps and in Flanders. He likewise ordered the council of Narbonne to give their advice to the inquisitors lately appointed in that province, who, in obedience to the mandate of the pope, drew up twenty-nine articles concerning the punishments to be inflicted upon the heretics or their favourers, and the marks by which they could be detected. Mean while the emperor, having gone into Germany, to punish the rebellion of his son Henry, king of the Romans, Gregory wrote to the princes of Germany, dissuading them from engaging in the revolt; and, after Frederic had quelled the rebellion, he granted him a dispensation to marry Isabella, the daughter of the king of England. At the same time taking those Germans that had been left in Italy into his pay, he obliged the seditious Romans to accept of an accommodation: however, he did not then return to the city, but went from Perugia to Spoleto, where he published a bull, exhorting a new expedition into the Holy Land.

A rebellion in Germany.

A.D.1236. Soon after, Gregory received a letter from the emperor, complaining that the associated cities of Lombardy had offered assistance to his rebellious son, and had even promised to confer upon him the crown of Italy, which they had hitherto refused to himself; therefore, he intreated his holiness, either to prevail with them to consent to a peace,

Frederic desires the pope's mediation with the cities of Lombardy.

[m] Sigon. lib. xvii. p. 46. Blond. dec. ii. lib. vii. Chron. de S. Germ.

or

or to aſſiſt him in reducing the authors of the revolt, and the protectors of the heretics. Gregory was greatly embarraſſed by this letter, as the aſſociated cities, who oppoſed the emperor, upon pretence of defending their liberties, had likewiſe eſpouſed that party which ſtood up for the rights of the Roman church: that he might ſeem to act an impartial part, he wrote to the emperor, begging him not to attack the Lombards, in violation of the truce that had been granted to them to prepare ſuccours for the Holy Land; and declared, that, if he would refer his differences with thoſe cities to his arbitration, he would conclude an accommodation with the greateſt impartiality. The emperor, willing to continue in good correſpondence with the pope, agreed to his propoſal, and ſent the maſter of the Teutonic order as his deputy to the pope's legate then in Lombardy: but no deputies from the aſſociated cities appearing, Frederick recalled the grand-maſter, and ſoon after entering Italy with a formidable army, commenced hoſtilities againſt the Lombards, by taking and burning Vicenza [n].

A.D. 1237.

The king of Tunis is ſeized by the Sicilians.

Gregory, in the mean time, being informed that the Sicilians had ſeized and impriſoned the king of Tunis, as he was ſailing paſt their iſland to Italy, in order to be baptized, he wrote to the emperor and to the Sicilians, inſiſting upon the king's being ſet at liberty. About the ſame time he received a letter from Philip, a Dominican friar, and prior of the Holy Land, informing him, that the patriarch of the Jacobites in Armenia, with many of his archbiſhops and biſhops, having come to viſit the ſacred places of Jeruſalem, had abjured their hereſy, and promiſed obedience to the Roman church: but Matthew Paris informs us, that the motive of their proceeding was the fear of the Tartars, againſt whom they expected the aſſiſtance of the croiſes, and that, ſoon after, their country being freed from the incurſions of thoſe barbarians, they again renounced all obedience to the church of Rome [o]. Mean while, the cities of Lombardy, finding that the emperor's troops were daily making new conqueſts, intreated the pope to act as mediator. Gregory accordingly ſent a nuncio to the emperor, who was then in Germany, intreating him to order hoſtilities to ceaſe in Lombardy, and to renew the privileges granted to the aſſociated cities by his father and grandfather. This negociation had no effect; for Frederick, in the beginning of autumn, entering Italy with a formidable army, and being joined by ten

The emperor defeats the confederates in Lombardy.

[n] Idem. ibid. Spond. Annal. [o] Matth. Paris, hoc anno.

thousand Saracens from Apulia, attacked the army of the confederates, and gained a complete victory, killing ten thousand of them, and taking a great many prisoners.

Gregory returns to Rome.

During these transactions in Lombardy, the city of Rome was greatly harrassed by the dissensions of the nobles and senators, some of whom favoured Gregory, while others adhered to the emperor; but the pope's party at length prevailing, he was received into the city with great rejoicings, and distributed an immense sum of money to the relief of the poor [p]. Before he returned to the city, Gregory sent cardinal Otho as his legate into England, who, at York, composed some differences between the kings of England and Scotland, and returning to London, held a national council in that city, where he had determined to proceed against those who held a plurality of benefices; but, as the incumbents were supported by their powerful relations, he thought proper to desist, for fear of raising a disturbance in the kingdom.

A.D. 1238.

Offers his mediation for a peace between the Lombards and the emperor.

The emperor, in the mean time, having reduced all the cities of Lombardy, except Milan, Bologna, Alexandria, and Brescia, the inhabitants of Milan, dreading the effects of his resentment, intreated the pope to mediate a peace between them and the emperor, offering to submit to him as their sovereign, and to send ten thousand men to the Holy Land, on condition that he would preserve their liberties, and make no alteration in the government of their city. Frederick insisting upon their surrendering at discretion, the treaty was broke off; and the pope, fearing the growing power of the emperor, who every day was growing more despotic, from this time attached himself to the interest of the associated cities; in consequence of which resolution, he sent legates to the king of Arragon, desiring him to enter into an alliance with the associated cities, offering him the annual tribute that was due to the emperor in Lombardy, and one hundred and fifty thousand imperial pounds for the expences of the present succours which they wanted. As the king of Arragon was then engaged in a successful war against the Moors, he only promised to send two thousand knights into Italy; but it appears from the Spanish historians, that he did not even fulfil this promise [q].

He sides with the confederates.

Gregory likewise, to strengthen the confederacy in Lombardy, concluded a peace between the republics of Genoa and Venice, the Venetian fleet, immediately after, sailing to Constantinople, and relieving that city from the

[p] Vita Greg. apud Murator. Marian. de Reb. Hispan. lib. xii.

[q] Zurit. in Indic. hoc ann.

siege

ſiege of the Greeks. The emperor Baldwin having come to France to ſolicit aſſiſtance, the pope wrote to the biſhops of France and England, deſiring them to beſtow upon him a part of their revenues; and as Baldwin propoſed to march by land to Conſtantinople, with an army of ſixty thouſand men, which he had raiſed, Gregory granted him an indulgence, that, if he ſhould be forced, in the countries through which he paſſed, to ſwear any thing to the prejudice of the empire of Conſtantinople, his oath ſhould not be binding [r].

The pope being ſoon after informed that the emperor had created his natural ſon Henry king of Sardinia, in violation of the rights of the ſee of Rome to that iſland; and that he had likewiſe publiſhed an edict, ſubjecting eccleſiaſtics, guilty of capital crimes, to the judgment of temporal courts; he ſolemnly excommunicated him at Rome, and ſent nuncios and legates to all biſhops and Chriſtian princes, ordering the ſentence of excommunication to be publiſhed in their dominions. The emperor, who was then at Padua, appeared not at all uneaſy at the news of his being excommunicated; but having immediately ordered his ſecretary to juſtify his conduct, in a diſcourſe to thoſe who were preſent, he wrote to all the Chriſtian princes, clearing himſelf of the crimes of which he had been accuſed by the pope, and inveighing againſt that prelate as an unworthy paſtor, whoſe ambition and avarice troubled the church. In anſwer to theſe letters of the emperor, Gregory publiſhed others, addreſſed to all the faithful, wherein he recapitulated the actions of the emperor from his infancy, and ſtyled him the forerunner of antichriſt, and a heretic, as he alleged that the pope had no authority of binding and looſing: but the pope, not finding that aſſiſtance from foreign ſtates that he expected, concluded an alliance with the confederate cities, and with the republics of Venice and Genoa, and ſent Gregory de Monte Longo as his legate into Lombardy, a man of an active ſpirit, who, with the aſſiſtance of the archbiſhop of Milan, exerted himſelf vigorouſly in oppoſing the Imperialiſts, and even compelled the clergy to enliſt [s].

A D. 1239.

The emperor is excommunicated;

who writes to the princes of Europe in his own juſtification;

The pope's nuncios, not being able to raiſe any diſturbance in Germany, Frederick was at leiſure to proſecute

and carries on the war in Italy with great fury.

[r] Spond. Annal. Regeſt. Greg. Spond. Annal.

[s] Sigon. lib. xviii. p. 55.

the war in Italy; and being highly exasperated against the pope, observed no measures in his resentment. He ordered all the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were natives of Lombardy, to be expelled from Naples and Sicily, and assembling his army, he ravaged the march of Treviso and the Milanese; but, being defeated in an engagement with the troops of Milan, and hearing that the Venetians had taken possession of Ravenna, and defeated his fleet off Apulia, he left strong garrisons in the cities of Lombardy, and directed his march for Rome. Gregory was greatly terrified at the approach of the Imperialists; but, to animate the Romans in his defence, he made a procession from the Lateran to the Vatican church, with the heads of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul: after a long discourse, taking the two skulls in his arms, he protested with tears, that he could not defend those reliques nor himself without the faithful assistance of the Romans. Observing the people moved by his harangue, he immediately published a crusade against the emperor, as an enemy of Christianity; and was so successful, that even those who had conspired against him, and were bribed by the emperor, took the cross with the greatest ardour; so that, when Frederic approached the city, he found himself opposed by a numerous army. The emperor, not having forces sufficient to venture an engagement, ravaged the country, and marched with his army towards Naples; but having taken some of the Roman croises prisoners, he put them to death by various tortures, impressing the figure of a cross upon their foreheads with red-hot iron, and cutting the heads of others into four pieces, in form of a cross [t].

He is repulsed from Rome.

A.D. 1240. Frederic, upon his arrival in Apulia, being informed that the croises in Syria had lately met with some disasters, he sent letters to the princes of Europe, inveighing against the pope, who had prevented him from going to their assistance. Gregory, in the mean time, sent to the kings of England and France, desiring their assistance against the emperor, and offered the imperial crown to the brother of the king of France. The offer of the crown was rejected: however, the legates obtained a twentieth part of the ecclesiastical revenues in France, and the fifth of those in England [u]. But the kings,

He accuses the pope of ruining the affairs of the Christians in Syria.

[t] Sigon. ubi supra. Vita Greg. apud Murator. [u] Mat. Paris. Blond. dec. ii. lib. vi.

Henry

Henry and Lewis, adviſing his holineſs to call a general council, as the beſt means to ſettle the diſturbances of Italy, Gregory accordingly wrote letters to all the biſhops in Chriſtendom, appointing a general council to be held at Rome the following Eaſter. The emperor conſented to the calling of a council, and concluded a truce with the pope, till after the celebration of that aſſembly, but excepted the city of Milan and its allies. Mean while hoſtilities ſtill continued betwixt the confederates and the emperor. During his abſence in Apulia, they made themſelves maſters of Ferrara, after a ſiege of five months, of which the emperor being informed, he returned with his army towards Lombardy, and retook Ravenna, from whence he proceeded to the ſiege of Faenza, which continued ſeveral months: obſerving that the letters, publiſhed by the pope for convoking a general council, made no mention of treating of peace, but only of the affairs of the church, he revoked the paſſports that he had given, and wrote to the Chriſtian princes not to allow the biſhops of their dominions to proceed to Rome.

Gregory ſummons a general council at Rome.

During theſe diſturbances in Italy, the pope's legate in France held ſeveral councils in that kingdom; but, if we believe Matthew Paris, the king, upon receiving the letter from the emperor againſt the general council, ordered all the money which the legate had raiſed to be detained till he ſhould ſee the iſſue of the affair. At the ſame time the exactions of Otho, legate in England, occaſioned great murmurs among the people. A Carthuſian monk was apprehended at Cambridge, and impriſoned in the Tower of London, for affirming that the devil was let looſe; that the pope was a heretic, and not the head of the church [w]. Notwithſtanding the great murmurs in England, Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, aſſembled a large fleet, and ſailed this year with forty thouſand croiſes, for the Holy Land.

A.D. 1241.

Mean while the biſhop of Vacia, in Hungary, arriving at Rome, and imploring the aſſiſtance of the pope againſt the Tartars, who were ravaging that kingdom with the greateſt barbarity, Gregory wrote a conſolatory letter to king Bela, who having been expelled by the Tartars, was then ſkulking in the iſlands on the coaſt of Dalmatia; and he ordered a cruſade to be preached againſt thoſe barbarians, accuſing the emperor of preventing him from furniſhing other aſſiſtance. Notwithſtanding the prohibition of the

He orders a cruſade for the protection of Hungary againſt the Tartars.

[w] Matth. Paris.

emperor, a great many bishops being now arrived at Genoa, in their way to Rome, they embarked on board the gallies of that republic, to perform the rest of their journey by sea, as there was no security in going by land, on account of the troops of the emperor. The Genoese gallies, on their voyage, meeting with those of Pisa, an engagement ensued, in which the Pisans were victors, having taken or sunk all those of the enemy, excepting five vessels which escaped. The legates and prelates, on board the gallies that were taken, were carried to Naples, and kept prisoners in separate castles in that kingdom. Gregory no sooner heard of their imprisonment than he wrote to them, exhorting them to patience, in imitation of the primitive martyrs: at the same time he excited the Lombards and Venetians to a vigorous prosecution of the war. But being deeply affected with the captivity of the bishops, and hearing that cardinal Colonna had gone over to the party of the emperor, he was seized with a distemper which carried him off on the 21st of September, when he had lived, according to Matthew Paris, almost one hundred years. His weak administration and unchristian resentment against the emperor were the occasion of great desolation and calamities to Italy; and the greatest part of the nobility of that kingdom were cut off in the wars during his pontificate.

The emperor seizes the prelates on their voyage to Rome.

Death of Gregory.

Election of Celestine IV.

After the death of Gregory, the Roman see continued vacant for thirty days, occasioned by the disputes among the cardinals, who were only ten in number. At length cardinal Geofry was elected, and took the name of Celestine IV. As he was born of a noble family in Milan, it was feared that he would prosecute the war with more vehemence than his predecessor; but immediately upon his election he sent an embassy to the emperor, proposing to treat of peace. However, he died on the 18th day of his pontificate, before an answer could return from Frederic, and was buried in the church of St. Peter [x].

Death of Celestine.

A.D. 1242. Upon Celestine's death, the cardinals not being able to agree about a successor, the Roman see continued vacant upwards of twenty months. In the mean time, the cardinals pretending that, during the vacancy, the apostolic authority resided in them, decided all causes in the usual manner. Next year the emperor continued with his army chiefly in the neighbourhood of Rome, and sent the master of the Teutonic order to the cardinals to negociate a

[x] Platina in Vit. Pont. Vit. Celestine apud Murator.

peace,

peace, but without effect; upon which hostilities recommenced, the Imperialists ravaged the territories of Rieti, Parmi, and Ascoli, while the Romans made an attempt upon the city of Tivoli. But while their army was engaged before that city, the emperor ravaged the territory of Rome, and obliged them to return. Proceeding afterwards with his army to Naples, he set the two cardinals, that had been taken on board the Genoese gallies, at liberty, and urged those who were at Rome to proceed to the election of a pope, as he had been unjustly charged of being the occasion of the delay.

His repeated letters [y] producing no effect, he assembled his army on the 1st of April, and marching towards Rome, began to pillage its territories; but the Romans declaring it was only the cardinals and prelates who occasioned the delay, he ordered his troops only to ravage the territories of the sacred college; and at last obtaining their promise to proceed immediately to the election, he withdrew his troops, and marched back into the kingdom of Naples. The cardinals soon after assembling at Anagni, unanimously elected cardinal Sinigald, a Genoese, who took the name of Innocent IV. and was consecrated in the same city upon the 28th of June [z]. The emperor, who was then at Melfi, when he heard of the election of Innocent, ordered Te Deum to be sung through all the kingdom of Naples, and immediately sent ambassadors to Anagni with offers of peace. Innocent, in return, sent the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Modena, and the abbot of St. Facundus, as legates to the emperor, to treat of a reconciliation with the holy see, on condition that he set the captive prelates at liberty, and made satisfaction for the crimes for which he had been condemned by Gregory; the pope at the same time promising to stand to the arbitration of a general council, assembled in a place of security, as to the grievances which the emperor alleged he had received from the church. The emperor rejecting these preliminaries, the negociation went no farther; upon which account several cities, that were disappointed in their expectations of peace, revolted from his party, and adhered to that of the church. During these dissensions betwixt the emperor and the pope, a great controversy arose among the Dominicans and Franciscans, about the priority and dignity of their respective orders, both of

A.D. 1243.

The emperor compels the cardinals to proceed to an election.

Innocent IV. is chosen.

[y] Petr. de Vineis I. Epist. 14 & 17. Vit. Pont. Rom. apud Murator.

[z] Chron. St. Germ.

them

them being already distinguished by their pride and avarice, building for themselves magnificent houses, and hunting after pious legacies and last wills in their favour, for which they were not even ashamed to go to law [a].

A.D. 1244. Frederic, in the mean time, being greatly solicited by his friends, again sent an embassy to the pope, to treat of peace, and Raymund, count of Thoulouse, who had lately come to Italy, together with Peter de Vineis and Thaddeus de Suessa, swore, in his name, that he would stand to the judgment of the pope in all the articles relating to the church. But Innocent soon after proceeding to Castellano, and from thence to Sutri, and in vain urging the emperor to fulfil his oath, by restoring all the territories subject to the church, and setting the captive prelates at liberty, he resolved to retire from Italy, as Frederic was in possession of almost all the places in the neighbourhood of Rome. He accordingly sent for some Genoese gallies, and escaping privately from Sutri, embarked at Civita Vecchia; from whence he sailed to Genoa, where he was received with the greatest honours, the streets through which he passed being hung with tapestry and silk [b]. Upon his arrival at Genoa, being seized with a fever and dysentery, he continued three months in the monastery of St. Andrew, near the city; and recovering his health in some measure, he proceeded by land to Lyons, where he arrived on the 2d of December.

Negociations for a peace between the pope and the emperor.

Innocent quits Italy and goes for Lyons.

Soon after his arrival at Lyons, he created twelve new cardinals, and granted them the privilege of wearing a red hat. He likewise sent the archbishop of Sabino as legate into Norway, and Albert, archbishop of Livonia and Prussia, as legate to the Russians, to persuade them to embrace the rites of the Latin church. The emperor, in the mean time, publishing circular letters, accusing the pope of being the occasion of breaking off the negociations, Innocent appointed a general council to be held at

A.D. 1245. Lyons on the 24th of June, to which he solemnly invited all the Christian princes, with the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, but contented himself with summoning the emperor by name, upon every occasion when he preached to the people. Mean while he sent a legate to Shentapelcus, duke of Pomerania, exhorting him to submit to the church, he having been excommunicated for entering into an alliance with the pagan Prussians against the Teutonic

[a] Matth. Paris. Wadding. in Annal. Minor. an. 1244. [b] Vita Innocent. apud Murator. Sigon. lib. xviii. p. 92. Matth. Paris.

knights.

knights. Several Dominicans and Franciſcans were, at this time, likewiſe ſent to preach the Goſpel to the Tartars, who, after ſuffering many hardſhips among thoſe barbarians, returned ſome years afterwards with letters for the pope [c].

A general council at Lyons.

The time for the general council being at length arrived, there were found one hundred and forty archbiſhops and biſhops, three patriarchs, beſides a great many abbots and priors, and the proxies of the abſent prelates. The emperor of Conſtantinople was likewiſe preſent, with the counts of Thouloufe and Provence, and the ambaſſadors from other Chriſtian princes. The emperor, who was then at Verona, where he had held an aſſembly of the ſtates of Lombardy, ſent Thaddeus de Sueſſa, with ſeveral other nobles, as his ambaſſadors to the council, who, after declaring that the emperor was willing to give ſatisfaction for all grievances complained of, offered the kings of France and England as ſureties for the performance of what he promiſed. The pope rejected the offer of the ambaſſadors, under pretence that Frederic would ſtill break his word, a circumſtance which would oblige him to proceed againſt the ſureties with eccleſiaſtical cenſures. Thaddeus, finding that his offers were rejected, demanded time to acquaint the emperor, that he might come in perſon to the council. Innocent at firſt refuſed to conſent to that requeſt, and declared, that, if the emperor appeared at the council, he would quit the city; but at the interceſſion of the French and Engliſh ambaſſadors, he granted a delay of two weeks. Frederic, who had then advanced to Turin, rejected the propoſal of his ambaſſador, as derogatory to his dignity; upon which the pope pronounced a ſentence of excommunication and depoſition againſt him, notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the Engliſh ambaſſador, who, to engage the attention of the council, accuſed the miniſters of the court of Rome of great extortions in England, and complained of the exceſſive tribute that was exacted every year from that kingdom [d].

The emperor is excommunicated and depoſed.

The council continued only three ſeſſions, in which ſome decrees were made for the recovery of the Holy Land, and for the extirpation of hereſy; and it concluded with a ſolemn denunciation of the ſentence of excommunication and depoſition againſt the emperor, his ambaſſador Thaddeus at the ſame time appealing to a future general

[c] Spond. Annal. [d] Matt. Paris.

council.

The pope exhorts the princes of Germany to a new election;

council. Upon dismissing the council, the pope sent the bishop of Ferrara to the princes of Germany, and particularly to the electors, exhorting them to elect another emperor, in obedience to which mandate, several princes assembled the following year at Wurtzburgh, and elected Henry, landgrave of Thuringia.

The emperor, exasperated against the pope, wrote to the kings of England and France in his own justification, and offered to submit his cause to the arbitration of St. Lewis, and the peers of his kingdom. Lewis accordingly had a conference with the pope for several days at Cluny, but could not prevail upon him to remit any thing of his rigour. Innocent, mean while, having received a petition from the nobles and bishops of Portugal, complaining of the inactivity of their king, and desiring that he might be deposed, he appointed Alphonsus the king's brother to govern the kingdom, on condition that the royal dignity should be preserved to Sancho during his life, and conferred upon his children if he ever should have any.

A.D. 1246.

and orders a crusade to be preached against Frederic.

But being chiefly intent upon opposing the emperor, he ordered a crusade to be preached against him, and sent persons into Sicily to promote a rebellion in that kingdom. Hearing likewise of the election of the landgrave of Thuringia, he sent him fifteen thousand marks of silver, to assist him in opposing Conrad. In consequence of these proceedings of the pope, the faction of the Guelphs began to grow very powerful in Italy, and several of the Italian nobles entered into a conspiracy to assassinate the emperor; but the plot being discovered, the conspirators, and their relations to the fourth and fifth degree of consanguinity, were put to death [e]. Frederic was at great pains to publish the conspiracy, imputing it to the pope, who had ordered a crusade to be preached against him as an infidel and heretic. In return, he likewise hired several assassins to murder Innocent; but though they attempted it at different times, they were all apprehended and executed [f]. Mean while, the war continuing in Italy, that kingdom, especially Lombardy, became a scene of misery and desolation. Agriculture was almost wholly interrupted, the olive trees and vineyards were destroyed; troops of banditti and robbers infested the whole country: even the foxes and wolves entered the cities, and seized upon children; neighbours became mutually suspicious of

The war occasions great calamities in Italy.

[e] Collenutius Hist. Neap. lib. iv. [f] Matth. Paris.

each

each other, and lived in continual expectation of being made prisoners or massacred [g].

These miseries had no influence with the pope, to incline him to an accommodation with the emperor. He still continued at Lyons, from whence he wrote to the sultan of Babylon, desiring him to conclude a peace, or at least a truce, with the Christians of Syria. That sultan having a dissension with the soltan of Damascus, wrote to his holiness, testifying his desire of peace, but at the same time declared, he would not treat without the assent of the emperor. Innocent, at this time, likewise wrote to the kings of Mauritania, in behalf of the Christians of Africa, and sent Lupus as bishop into that province, granting him an indulgence of not visiting Rome for ten years, as the Moorish princes made a difficulty of allowing any person to quit their dominions. At the same time being informed that the king of Arragon had ordered the bishop of Girona's tongue to be cut out, on suspicion that he had discovered a clandestine marriage, which the king then wanted to disown, Innocent excommunicated the king, and laid his kingdom under an interdict; but upon his acknowleging his fault, and offering satisfaction, he sent two legates into Spain, who held a council of the nobles and bishops at Lerida, in presence of which they reprehended the king, and, upon his falling down upon his knees, and protesting his abhorrence of the crime, absolved him from the sentence of excommunication [h].

Innocent writes to the soltan of Babylon in favour of the Christians.

Excommunicates the king of Aragon.

Mean while the emperor endeavoured, by means of the king of France, to effectuate a peace with the Roman see. Hearing of the death of his competitor, the landgrave of Thuringia, in Germany, he advanced to Turin, with the design of proceeding to Lyons, to have a conference with the pope; but, according to some authors, to seize upon his person. Innocent rejected the mediation of St. Lewis, and sent several legates to desire the assistance of the Christian princes against the emperor. At the same time he sent Peter Capaechio as his legate into Germany, by whose means several of the princes assembled at Nuitz, and elected William, count of Holland, to whom the pope immediately sent a present of thirty thousand marks of silver. About the same time he sent cardinal William, bishop of Sabino, as his league into Norway, who anointed and crowned Haquinus, or Aquinus, king; and, upon

A.D. 1247.

Frederic intreats the mediation of the king of France.

Innocent sends a legate into Norway.

[g] Sigon. lib. xviii. p. 65.

[h] Marian. de Reb. Hisp. lib. xiii. cap. 6.

his

his making a vow of an expedition into the Holy Land, granted him the twentieth part of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in his kingdom for three years. Cardinal Octavianus was likewiſe ſent into Lombardy, with a conſiderable body of troops, and a large ſum of money; but Amadeus, count of Savoy, oppoſing him in paſſing the Alps, his forces were obliged to diſperſe, and he only, with a few attendants, arrived in Italy. Innocent alſo appointed friar Laurence, of the order of Franciſcans, as his legate in the Eaſt, to the Iconians, Armenians, and Babylonians, to all the Greeks, as well in Greece as in the patriarchates of Antioch and Jeruſalem, and to the Jacobites, Maronites, and Neſtorians.

A.D.1248. Soon after he received the news of a great victory, which the garriſon of Parma had gained over the emperor, by ſurpriſing and ſtorming his camp, in which was found an imperial crown, with the emperor's moſt valuable jewels, beſides an immenſe treaſure in money. This victory was very fatal to the affairs of Frederic, who, though he aſſembled his ſcattered troops, and made a ſhew of renewing the ſiege of Parma, yet was obliged to deſiſt from that enterprize, and retired into Apulia, to ſecure the fidelity of his hereditary kingdoms. Mean while, his natural ſon, Hentz, king of Sardinia, was taken priſoner by the troops of Bologna; and Conrad, king of the Romans, not having been able to relieve Aix la Chapelle, that city ſurrendered, after a ſiege of ſix months, to his competitor William, count of Holland; who was there crowned by the pope's legate, or, according to ſome authors, by the archbiſhop of Cologne; while Conrad, affording his protection to a certain ſect of heretics in Suabia, upon that account loſt the favour of a great many nobles of Germany. Theſe heretics were called Circumcelliones: they aſſerted that the pope was a heretic; that all the prelates and biſhops were heretics, and guilty of ſimony; and that neither they, nor any other prieſts, being guilty of mortal ſins, had authority to bind or looſe, or even to conſecrate; and that they ought not to pray for the pope, but for Frederic and Conrad [i].

The affairs of the emperor are ruined in Lombardy.

A.D.1249. In the mean time, St. Lewis, king of France, having prepared every thing for his expedition into the Holy Land, arrived at Lyons with a numerous retinue of nobles and biſhops. There having had a conference with Innocent, and received the pontifical benediction, he ſailed down

The king of France ſails for the Holy Land.

[i] Krantz 8. Metrop. 18 & 8. Saxon. 16.

the

the Rhone, and joined his fleet, which was already at sea. Innocent sent cardinal Otho, bishop of Tusculum, and Andrew, a Franciscan, as his legates, with the king of France; and hearing that friar Laurence, who had been sent legate into Greece, was received honourably by the emperor and patriarch, the following year he sent John of Parma, the general of the Franciscans, with letters to the emperor and the patriarch, to entreat them to consent to an union of the Greek and Latin churches. In the course of the succeeding year, being informed that the army of the king of France had been intirely defeated, and himself with many of his nobles taken prisoners by the Saracens in Egypt, he wrote a consolatory letter to him, exhorting him to fortitude in his adversity. At the same time he also wrote to the archbishops and bishops of France, desiring them to put up public prayers for the delivery of their king, and exhort the people to take the cross for the assistance of the Holy Land. Lewis having concluded a truce for ten years with the soltan, was set at liberty upon certain conditions. Mean while the emperor Frederic having reinforced his army, was preparing to march into Lombardy to attack Bologna, and procure the liberty of his natural son Hentz; but falling sick in Apulia, he died on the 13th of December, and was buried at Montreal, in Sicily, by his natural son Manfred, who was suspected of having hastened his death by violent means [k].

A.D. 1250.

A legate sent into Greece.

The emperor dies.

SECT. VIII.

The Pope confers the Crown of Sicily upon Charles Count of Anjou.

INNOCENT, upon hearing of the death of Frederic, immediately excommunicated Conrad and all his adherents, and again confirming the empire to William, count of Holland, sent cardinal Hugh, of the title of St. Sabina, as his legate into Germany, to support the interest of the count. He likewise sent the bishops of Ostia and Albano as his legates into Apulia, to bring the Neapolitans and Sicilians to submit to the see of Rome, and to prohibit them from giving their allegiance to any other. Being resolved quickly to return to Italy, he granted several privileges to the city of Lyons, and desired an inter-

A.D. 1251.

Innocent exerts himself in favour of count William;

[k] Sigon. lib. xviii. p. 76. Spond. Annal.

view

view with William, count of Holland; who, at his request, came from Germany, and continued with him several days; receiving a promise of the imperial crown upon his arrival at Rome. Before he left Lyons, Innocent granted to those who used the Sclavonic language, a privilege of celebrating divine service in their native tongue [l]; and having celebrated his Easter in that city, he proceeded by land to Genoa, where he received ambassadors from all the associated cities, and from some cities in the late emperor's interest. Having continued fifteen days at Genoa, he went to Milan, where he resided three months, and proceeded afterwards through Brescia, Mantua, Ferrara, and Bologna, to Perugia, where he fixed his court, refusing to go to Rome, as the Romans would not consent to abrogate the extraordinary authority committed to the two annual senators.

and returns to Italy.

Mean while Conrad, being informed of the death of his father, assembled a strong army and marched into Italy to take possession of his hereditary dominions. Upon his arriving at Mantua, he held an assembly of the deputies of the cities in his interest. Afterwards embarking on board some Venetian ships, he went by sea into Apulia, and immediately joined his brother Manfred, who was besieging Naples, which, with Capua and Aquino, had put themselves under the protection of the church of Rome.

A.D. 1252. Innocent, the better to oppose the pretensions of Conrad to Naples and Sicily, offered these kingdoms to Richard, brother of the king of England [m]; but he refusing to accept of them, he sent Albert, notary of the apostolic see, with the same offer to Charles, count of Anjou and Provence, brother of the king of France, who at that time was prevented by his relations from giving his consent. He likewise ordered all the croises speedily to depart for the Holy Land, under the pain of excommunication, and wrote to the king of England, exhorting him to go to the assistance of St. Lewis and the Christians in Syria. That prince, moved by the pope's letters, took the vow of the cross, but appointed the time for the expedition at the distance of three years. Mean while cardinal Octavian, the legate in Lombardy, at the command of the pope, assembled a council of the deputies of the confederate cities in Brescia, where they all renewed their alliance, and agreed to maintain a body of six hundred horse, to be sta-

He offers the kingdom of Naples to Charles duke of Anjou.

[l] Spond. Annal. [m] Matth. Paris, anno 1252. Vita Innocent. apud Murator. tom. iii.

tioned

tioned on both sides of the Po, one half of them to be maintained by the church, and the other by the confederates.

Proceedings against the heretics.

Innocent being informed that the heretics were very numerous in Milan, and through all Lombardy, he gave a commission to Peter of Verona, a Dominican friar, to make an enquiry after their doctrines, and convict the guilty. Peter executed his commission with great rigour, and put several of the heretics to death; and this severity so irritated the rest of the sect, that they murdered him and his companion Dominic, as they were coming to Milan from Como. The Milanese to free themselves from all suspicion of being concerned in the murder, brought the dead bodies into their city, and buried them with great respect: they likewise punished the murderers and their associates with great severity, which occasioned new dissensions in their city betwixt the nobles and the people. Friar Peter having been reckoned a martyr, his tomb was greatly frequented, and quickly became famous for miracles, on which account Innocent, the following year, at the request of the archbishops and nobles of Milan, numbered him among the saints.

A.D. 1253.

The Romans invite the pope to return to Rome.

The Romans in the mean time had sent for Brancaleo Andalus from Bologna, to whom, upon account of his reputation for justice, they had trusted the sovereign authority of their city for three years, and had sent thirty hostages to Bologna as a security for their obedience. Being soon disgusted with his severity, they sent an embassy to the pope at Perugia, desiring him to return to the city, and threatening to attack the Perugians if they detained him. Innocent, to protect the Perugians from their resentment, went to Assisi; but the Romans renewing their embassy, and threatening to attack the Assisians, Innocent at last returned with his court to Rome, where he was received by Brancaleo and the nobles with the greatest honours. Before he set out for Rome, he ordered the kings of Portugal and Castile to desist from hostilities, and refer their dispute about the kingdom of Algarve to the arbitration of the apostolic see[n]. He likewise granted privilege to the provincial of the Dominicans in Poland of appointing the brothers of that order, for the conversion of the Russians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Saracens, Ethiopians, and Indians.

[n] Spond. Annal.

Conrad proposes a peace;

Soon after his arrival at Rome, he received an embassy from Conrad, now in possession of Naples, with an offer of an accommodation with the church, but in reality to bribe Brancaleo and the Romans to join his party against the pope. Innocent rejected the offers of the ambassadors, and, a few weeks after, in presence of some Greek archbishops and bishops, who had lately come to Rome, he excommunicated Conrad and Ezzelino, who had been one of the chief commanders of the late emperor in Lombardy [o]. Conrad survived this sentence but a few months, and died on the 21st of May, leaving an infant son named Conradin, whom he committed to the guardianship of Berthold de Honebruch, and some Bavarian nobles, recommending to them to put the young prince under the protection of the apostolic see. Innocent, who was then at Assisi, hearing of the death of Conrad, immediately repaired to Rome, and ordering Manfred to desist from his pretensions to Apulia and Sicily, he sent a considerable army towards Apulia, to take possession of the kingdom of Naples for the see of Rome. Manfred refusing obedience to the order of the pope, Innocent excommunicated him, and soon after advanced in person towards Naples, where he was received with great honour by the nobles of the kingdom, and even by Manfred, who pretended to be reconciled to the church. This reconciliation was of very short continuance; for some of his attendants killing an Apulian baron, a favourite of the pope, and Manfred's protestations of his ignorance of the murder not being credited, he fled to Lucera, where he was joyfully received by the Saracens, and being assisted by them, defeated the army of the pope [p]. Innocent was then sick at Naples, and the news of the defeat increasing his distemper, he died soon after, in the beginning of December.

but is excommunicated, and dies in Apulia.

A.D. 1524.

Innocent dies at Naples, and is succeeded by Alexander IV.

Upon the death of Innocent, the pretor of Naples shut the gates of the city, and obliged the cardinals to proceed to the election of his successor. They accordingly assembled, and, after thirteen days, elected the bishop of Ostia, who took the name of Alexander IV. The first concern of Alexander was to oppose the progress of Manfred, who, in consequence of the late victory he had obtained, was now very powerful. He likewise published some decrees of his predecessor Innocent, against the heretics of Lombardy; and St. Lewis being now returned from the

A.D. 1255.

who opposes Manfred.

[o] Vita Innocent. apud Murator. Hist. Sicul.

[p] Barth. de Neo Castro.

Holy

Holy Land, he issued a bull in his favour, importing, that no legate, or any person whatever, should have authority to excommunicate him or his queen, or their successors, or to lay his kingdom under an interdict, without especial mandate from the apostolic see. He granted the same privilege to the king of Bohemia; and, at the same time, wrote to the university of Paris in favour of the Dominicans and Franciscans, who had been expelled the university for pretending an exemption from its statutes, upon account of their order.

Manfred defeats the army of the pope;

Mean while hostilities still continued with great animosity between the Guelphs and Gibelines in Lombardy. Manfred having reinforced his army with some Saracens from Africa, had defeated Octavian, the pope's general, and obliged him to conclude a treaty of peace, by which Naples and Sicily were left to Manfred, and Campania ceded to the Roman see. Alexander refused to ratify this treaty; and claiming the disposal of the kingdom of Sicily, he sent a legate into England with a grant of it, confirmed by a golden bull, in favour of Edmund, the second son of Henry III. The legate upon his arrival, gave the ring of investiture to Edmund, in a full assembly of the states, published a crusade against Manfred, with the usual indulgences, and absolved the king from his vow of a crusade into Syria, on condition of his undertaking an expedition against Manfred. The king bound himself, for his son, to pay yearly two thousand ounces of gold to the Roman see, and to leave the disposal of all the benefices in Sicily to the pope. He promised likewise, under the pain of ecclesiastical censures, to conduct an army, in person, into Sicily, by the month of October, in the following year [q].

who gives the investiture of Naples to the king of England's son.

A.D. 1256.

Alexander excommunicates the inhabitants of Turin and Asti.

During these transactions, Alexander excommunicated the inhabitants of Turin and Asti, who had surprised and imprisoned their sovereign, Thomas, count of Savoy. Being intreated by the marquis of Este, and the nobles of the March of Ancona, to oppose the cruelties of Ezzelino, he denounced a sentence of excommunication against him, and sent Philip, archbishop of Ravenna, as his legate into Lombardy, who, by preaching a crusade against him in the cities of Bologna, Ferrara, and Venice, assembled a formidable army, and, after a siege of a few days, took possession of Padua [r]. Alexander likewise sent the bishop of Orvieto as his legate to Constantinople, to

q Matth. Paris. hoc anno. r Sigon. lib. xix. p. 86.

treat of an union of the Greek and Latin churches, offering to the Greeks to assemble a general council to facilitate the union. About the same time, receiving an embassy from the soltan of Persia, who professed his desire to become a Christian, the pope wrote to that prince, and sent him a short abstract of the Christian faith, promising likewise to send learned men into his kingdom, by whom he would be fully instructed in the doctrines of that religion [s].

The Romans revolt against the senator Brancaleo.

Mean while great disturbances happened at Rome, concerning the senator Brancaleo; who, upon account of his punishing criminals, without respect or favour, had become odious to both the nobles and the people; and a conspiracy being formed against him, he was unexpectedly seized and thrown in prison. His wife escaping to Bologna, prevailed with that city to set a guard upon the Roman hostages, while the Romans, intent upon punishing Brancaleo, influenced the pope to intercede with the Bolognese for the liberty of their hostages. His intercession having no effect, Alexander threatened to lay the city of Bologna under an interdict; however, he could not prevail with them to abandon the interest of their citizen [t].

Great confusions in Germany by the death of the count of Holland.

At this period, Germany was a scene of anarchy and disorder. William, count of Holland, having been killed in the beginning of the year in an expedition against the Frieslanders, the nobles divided into separate factions, and neglected to chuse a successor to the empire. Some of them proposed to elect Conradin, then an infant; but Alexander opposed the promotion of the grandson of Frederic II. with great earnestness. From Anagni he wrote to the archbishop of Mentz, the chief elector, ordering him, under pain of excommunication, to acquaint all the electors with his apostolical prohibition, and to declare, that if any thing should be attempted contrary thereto, in favour of Conradin, the election should be reckoned void, and the electors excommunicated [u].

A.D. 1257.

Two competitors for the empire.

Conradin being thus excluded, the factions nevertheless continued in the empire; and Richard, duke of Cornwall, brother of the king of England, professing himself a candidate, was elected at Frankfort, about the middle of January, by the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, and other two electors. But the other faction, headed by the archbishop of Triers, assembled soon after in the same

[s] Spond. Annal. [t] Sigon. ubi supra, Matth. Paris.
[u] Spond. Annal.

city,

city, and conferred the imperial dignity upon Alphonso, king of Castile. Each of the competitors immediately sent ambassadors to Rome, soliciting the confirmation of the pope: Alphonso likewise wrote to Padua and other cities of Lombardy, desiring them to appoint deputies to wait upon him, at his arrival in Italy.

But those letters were supposed to have been forged by Ezzelino, who, hearing of the loss of Padua, had returned to Verona from the siege of Mantua. Having endeavoured in vain to recover Padua, he declared himself the head of the Gibeline faction in Lombardy, and acted as lieutenant for the emperor, though at that time Italy acknowleged none [w]. Notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of the ambassadors of the two competitors, Alexander, under pretence of deliberating, deferred giving sentence in favour of either of them. But he was soon freed from this embarrassment, for the money of Richard failing him, his party deserted him, and he returned the following year to England, after he had in vain lavished away seven hundred thousand pounds sterling [x].

The pope does not decide in favour of either of them.

Soon after Alexander, upon account of the great disturbances in Rome, was obliged to quit that city, and retire to Viterbo. These disturbances were owing to a sedition of the people, who, being oppressed by the new senator, brought Brancaleo out of prison, and conferred upon him the supreme authority. Brancaleo immediately expelled the chiefs of the other faction, and ordered two of the nobles to be hanged, without any regard to the pope, who had excommunicated him and his followers. After the departure of the pope, having entered into a treaty with Manfred, who had now taken the title of king, he destroyed a hundred and forty castles of the nobles of Rome, and imprisoned many of those who favoured the church; but falling sick while he was besieging Corneto, he was carried to Rome, where he died. The Romans, in testimony of their regard for him, put his head in a golden vase, which they placed on the top of a marble pillar, and immediately elected his uncle Catellanus, as his successor, notwithstanding the prohibition of the pope [y].

He is obliged to quit Rome on account of the commotions in the city.

A.D. 1258.

Mean while Ezzelino, having surprised the army of the Guelphs, commanded by the legate Philip, had gained a signal victory, and taken the legate himself prisoner, with

The legate of the pope defeated and taken prisoner in Lombardy.

[w] Sigon. ubi supra. [x] Rymer. tom. i. vet. Edit. p. 762.
[y] Sigon. lib. xix. p. 90. Matth. Paris.

many other persons of distinction. Immediately after this success, taking possession of the city of Brescia, he exercised all manner of cruelties against those of the opposite faction. The fate of Brescia alarming the cities of Padua, Ferrara, and Mantua, they sent to the pope, intreating him to appoint another legate, to protect them against the Gibelines. Alexander, who was then at Viterbo, at their request sent another legate to command the army; and as the Dominicans and Franciscans distinguished themselves in opposing heresies, he published a bull in their favour, granting them a great many particular privileges.

A.D.1259. About the same time he sent Arlot, or Herlot, notary of the Roman church, as his nuncio to England, to solicit the succours which the king had promised for Sicily. That prince made a demand of money from his parliament, for this purpose, but both at London and Oxford he met with a refusal. Alexander, in the mean time, going to Anagni, wrote from thence to all the metropolitans in Christendom, urging them to a reformation of ecclesiastical discipline, and severely condemning those priests who lived with concubines, he prohibited any one from being present when they celebrated mass[z].

The king of England is desired to take possession of Sicily.

While he continued at Anagni, the nobles of Rome, in opposition to the people, chose themselves two senators, and assembling a body of men, besieged the uncle of Brancaleo in a certain castle in the city. The animosity likewise still continuing between the factions in Lombardy, and the nobles of Milan being at variance with the people, Ezzelino, in hopes of making himself master of that city, marched thither with his army, having been secretly invited by the leader of the nobles. But the marquis of Este, with the troops of Ferrara, Padua, Mantua, and Milan, intercepting him betwixt the Oglio and Adda, forced him to an engagement, in which he was defeated and taken prisoner. Being wounded in the ancle, he died a few days after, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, having for more than thirty years harrassed, not only the March of Treviso, but all Lombardy, by his tyranny and

A.D.1260. cruelties[a]. Alexander being informed that the Tartars had over-run Armenia, Antioch, Tripoli, and Damascus, and were threatening Acon, and the cities subject to the Christians in Syria, he ordered councils to be held in the

[z] Steron. Annal. Aventin. ubi ut supra. [a] Sigon. lib. xix. p. 93 & 94.

several

several provinces of Europe, for the assistance of the Christians in Asia against those barbarians.

At this juncture, the despot of Peloponese arriving in Italy, to solicit succours for the emperor of Constantinople, endeavoured to conclude a peace betwixt the pope and Manfred, who was now in possession of Apulia and Sicily. As the king of England had neglected the affairs of Sicily, and had even made a formal renunciation at Rome of his son's right to that kingdom, Alexander willingly hearkened to proposals of peace, and offered to be reconciled to Manfred, on condition that he restored the earls to their possessions, and banished the Saracens. These conditions were rejected by that prince, who not only declared that he would protect the Saracens, but likewise sent for others from Africa. What encouraged him to reject the terms of peace, was the success of his party in Lombardy; for the marquis Pallavicini, who had always been attached to the interests of the emperor Frederic, having, since the death of Ezzelino, been declared general of the Gibelines, had assembled a formidable army, with which he soon after gained a signal victory over the troops of Bologna and Florence, which last city he made himself master of, and obliged the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to Manfred [b].

A peace proposed with Manfred, but without effect.

Alexander, still residing at Anagni, at the solicitation of the Romans, laid the city and university of Bologna under an interdict (M). He likewise granted a dispensation

[b] Ricordan. cap. 163, & seq. Sigon. ubi supra.

(M) About this time the sect of Flagellants began to appear in Italy; they were at first looked upon as mad enthusiasts, but in a few years they were treated as heretics, on account of some doctrines which they professed. One Rainerius, a hermit of Perugia, was the first promoter of that sect. In his discourses to the people he warned them, in the name of God, to have recourse to penance, to avert the plague which would otherwise soon cut them off. His exhortations being looked upon as oracles, his hearers, both men and women of every age and condition, immediately stripped themselves naked to the waist, and went in procession through the streets, scourging themselves severely, and calling upon the Virgin Mary to intercede with her Son to grant them mercy. They then went into the neighbouring cities, where they quickly made a great many proselytes, and, in a short

tion to legitimate Nicholas, the natural son of Othogar, king of Bohemia; and sent Bernard, a writer of the apostolic see, as his nuncio into that kingdom, to satisfy the nobles that he had no intention, by his dispensation to Nicholas, to favour his succession to the throne [c]. Being intent also upon reconciling the Genoese and Venetians, he appointed a council to be held at Viterbo, and went from Anagni to that city, but died before the opening of the council, on the 24th of May. He is celebrated for his learning and love of peace, for the sake of which he is said to have refrained from any promotion of cardinals during his pontificate [d].

A.D. 1261.

Alexander dies at Viterbo.

The patriarch of Jerusalem is elected, and takes the name of Urban IV.

At the death of Alexander, the college of cardinals was reduced to nine persons, one of whom was absent in his native country of Hungary. The other eight, instead of immediately proceeding to election, divided into several factions. At last, after a vacancy of three months and three days, they chose Peter Pantaleo, patriarch of Jerusalem, who assumed the name of Urban IV. Peter was born at Troyes, in France, of very poor parents; but being distinguished by his learning and abilities, he had passed through all the ecclesiastical degrees, and being now at Rome about the affairs of his patriarchate, was thought worthy of the pontificate. A few months after his promotion, he created the bishop of Agen in Guienne his successor in the patriarchate, and likewise made a promotion of eight cardinals, to whom he soon after added six others.

A.D. 1262.

He offers the crown of Sicily to one of the princes of France.

But being chiefly intent upon opposing the power of Manfred, he sent a legate into France, with an offer of the crown of Sicily to any of the younger sons of St. Lewis, whom the father should chuse. In the mean time he ordered a crusade to be preached against Manfred, in consequence of which he quickly assembled a considerable army of Guelphs. The legate in France, having published the crusade in that kingdom, a great many persons took the cross, and entering Italy in a body, defeated the

[c] Spond. Annal. [d] Paduan. Chron. lib. iii.

time, there was scarcely a city of Italy where there were not a great many of these devotees (1).

(1) Sigon. lib. xix, p. 66, Stero in Annal. hoc ann. Paduan. lib. ii. Chron.

troops

troops of Pallavicini, who endeavoured to oppose them, and joined the pope at Viterbo. Having received his benediction, they marched against the Saracens, and, in conjunction with the other forces, drove them from the duchy of Spoleto and Campania; however, the crusaders themselves, for want of pay and subsistence, quickly dispersed, though they were earnestly solicited by the pope to march against the Romans. Manfred, in the mean time, to strengthen himself against the intrigues of the pope, gave his eldest daughter, and heiress of his dominions, in marriage to Peter, son of the king of Arragon; and, assembling an army of Saracens, marched into the territories of the church [e].

Urban, waiting for the success of his negociation in France, still continued at Viterbo; and being informed that the friends of the house of Suabia, taking advantage of the unsettled state of Germany, were forming a party in favour of the young Conradin, he renewed the prohibition of his predecessor Alexander against that prince. He likewise published a crusade against the Greeks, who, the year before, had recovered Constantinople by surprize, and had expelled the Latins, after they had been in possession of that empire fifty-nine years. He absolved Henry, king of England, from the oath which the barons had exacted from him, to restore the ancient laws and privileges of the kingdom; and he strictly prohibited the Genoese from giving assistance to the Greeks against the Venetians.

The Greeks recover Constantinople.

Mean while Charles, count of Anjou and Provence, having obtained the permission of his brother St. Lewis to accept of the offer of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, made to him by the pope's legate, entered into a negociation with Urban upon that affair. The Romans, who, for more than a century, had pretended to an independency of the emperor or the pope, about this time conferred the title of perpetual senator of their city upon count Charles. It was agreed, however, that he should renounce that dignity within five years; but, as his oath to the Romans was contradictory to this agreement, Urban granted him a dispensation with regard to that oath, on condition of his fulfilling the agreement of the holy see [g]. Charles likewise subscribed to several other condi-

A.D. 1265.

The pope upon certain conditions confers the crown of Sicily on Charles, count of Anjou.

[e] Surit. in Indict. lib. ii. an. 1260. Spond. Annal. Malaspinal. 2. cap. 9. ap. Murator. tom. viii. p. 808. [g] Sabas Bzovius ad an. 1263.

tions,

tions, namely, to leave an entire liberty to the eccleſiaſtics in his dominions, never to unite the imperial dignity to the kingdom of Sicily, and to pay yearly eight thouſand ounces of gold to the apoſtolic ſee. This negociation being publiſhed in Italy, greatly alarmed Manfred, and gave freſh ſpirits to the Guelphs, who hoped, by the aſſiſtance of the French, entirely to conquer the Gibelines, who, by the confuſions in Germany, could draw no ſuccours from the empire, which was without a head, though the two competitors ſtill kept up their pretenſions.

The competitors for the empire deſired to ſubmit to the deciſion of the pope;

Urban, to put an end to their contention, wrote to them both to ſubmit to the deciſion of the apoſtolic ſee, and to appear by their proxies by the month of May, in the following year [h]. Having received an embaſſy from Michael Palæologus, emperor of Conſtantinople, deſiring to treat of an union of the Greek and Latin churches, he ſent four friars of the Dominican order for that purpoſe to Conſtantinople, though it was believed the embaſſy of the emperor was only a feint, to prevent the effects of the cruſade which had been preached againſt him.

A.D. 1264.

who ſends a legate to England.

In the courſe of the following year, Urban, being informed of the great diſſenſions in England betwixt the barons and the king, ſent Guido, biſhop of Sabino, as his legate a latere, to mediate a reconciliation; but he being prevented by the barons from entering the kingdom, ſtopped at Boulogne in France, and ſending for ſome of the Engliſh biſhops, ordered them to publiſh a ſentence of interdict and excommunication againſt all thoſe who ſhould diſturb the peace of the king: but the biſhops, inſtead of complying with the command of the legate, appealed to the apoſtolic ſee, or to a general council, and even to the ſupreme Judge of all, for the juſtice of the cauſe which was eſpouſed by the barons [i]. Mean while Urban, falling ſick at Perugia, died in that city, on the 2d of October.

A.D. 1265.

Urban dies at Perugia.

Clement IV. choſen pope.

Upon the death of Urban, the Roman ſee continued vacant upwards of four months, occaſioned by the diſputes among the cardinals. At length they choſe cardinal Guido, who was then upon his return from Boulogne. As he was informed that Manfred had ordered the roads to be beſet, he diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a merchant, or, according to ſome, of a friar, and arriving at Perugia, went from thence with the cardinals to Viterbo, where he was

[h] Spond. Annal. Guliel. Weſtmonaſter.

[i] Vita Urban. ap. Murator. tom. iii.

conſe-

consecrated, and took the name of Clement IV. (N). He immediately confirmed the treaty made between his predecessor and the count of Anjou, who having now assembled a considerable army at Lyons, repaired to Marseilles with one thousand horse, and embarking on board thirty gallies, and some other vessels, arrived soon after in the Tiber. He was received by the Romans with great honour, and immediately took possession of the dignity of senator. Clement being informed of his arrival, sent six cardinals to Rome, who, upon his swearing to fulfil the conditions agreed to with the holy see in the Lateran church, gave him the investiture of Sicily and Naples, excepting the city of Benevento.

The count of Anjou arrives at Rome.

Clement being resolved to spare nothing in supporting the interests of Charles, borrowed large sums from the count of Poictiers, and from the merchants of Florence and Sienna, and likewise mortgaged the possessions of the greatest part of the churches of Rome for three years [k]. As these sums were not sufficient for the expedition, he granted to Charles the tithe of all the ecclesiastical possessions in France. Mean while, his legate in Lombardy published a crusade against Manfred, by which he raised ten thousand men in the territory of Bologna; and procuring an assembly at Mantua, of the deputies of Milan, Verona, Modena, and several other cities, they concluded an alliance with Charles against the Gibelines, and promised to supply his army with provisions in their march through Lombardy [l]. Clement, in the mean time, published several severe decrees against the heretics; enlarged the privileges of the inquisitors; and wrote to the king of

Clement exerts himself in his favour.

[k] Spond. Annal.

[l] Sigon. lib. xx. p. 101.

(N) Clement was born at St. Giles's, in Narbonne, of a noble family. In his youth he followed the profession of arms, but applying himself afterwards to the study of the law, he soon acquired the reputation of being the most skilful lawyer in France, and was chosen one of the privy-counsellors of St. Lewis. After the death of his wife, by whom he had two daughters, he entered into holy orders, was first archdeacon, and then bishop of Puy en Vellay; soon after, he obtained the archbishoprick of Narbonne, and Urban IV. created him a cardinal, and bishop of Sabino. After his promotion to the pontificate, he wrote to all his relations, ordering them not to come to him till he sent for them, and not to expect riches or dignities in consequence of his present elevation.

Arragon,

Arragon, exhorting him to extirpate the Moors[m]. He likewise sent cardinal Guido, a Cistertian monk, as his legate to the northern kingdoms, and appointed cardinal Othobonus, a nephew of Innocent IV. as his legate in England, writing at the same time to St. Lewis, to assist king Henry against his subjects.

A.D. 1266. The army of the count of Anjou at length arriving at Rome, to the number of sixty thousand, besides a numerous body of the Guelphs[n], Clement sent thither five cardinals, who receiving the homage of Charles in the church of St. Peter, crowned him and his wife Beatrice, king and queen of both Sicilies, immediately after which ceremony, he marched with his army into Apulia, and engaging Manfred in the neighbourhood of Benevento, gained a complete victory, his competitor being slain in the action. His easy conquest rendering him insolent, he allowed all manner of barbarities to be committed in the city of Benevento, which he made himself master of immediately after the battle. Clement, informed of his cruelty, exhorted him to gain the hearts of his new subjects by affability and moderation, and reproved him severely for his behaviour to the Beneventans, who ought to have been accounted subject to the holy see. In Lombardy, the news of the defeat, and death of Manfred, struck the Gibeline faction with the greatest consternation. As they were expelled from several cities by the Guelphs, they invited the young Conradin into Italy against Charles, to be the head of their ruined faction. Clement being informed that such a negociation was carrying on, about the middle of April published a mandate in the church of Viterbo, prohibiting any one to acknowlege Conradin as king of Sicily, or to disturb Charles in the possession of that kingdom, under pain of excommunication and deprivation of fiefs or benefices[o].

Charles is crowned king of Sicily at Rome.

Manfred defeated and slain.

Conradin invited into Italy, but prohibited by the pope.

Mean while, his legate in England held a council at Northampton, and excommunicated all those bishops and clergy who adhered to Simon Montfort and the barons, against the king; he likewise, by the authority of the pope, granted to the king the tithe of all ecclesiastical revenues in his kingdom for seven years[p]. Guido, who had been sent as his legate into Denmark, excommunicated the king and queen, and laid that kingdom under an inter-

[m] Surit. Indict. lib. ii. hoc an. [n] Chron. Parmens. apud Murator. tom. ix. [o] Spond. Annal. Sigon. ubi supra. [p] Guliel. Westmonaster.

dict,

dict, becauſe the king refuſed to ſet the archbiſhop of Lunden at liberty, whom he had impriſoned, on account of a diſpute about the payment of tithes. Clement, in the mean time, wrote to the king of Hungary, in favour of the biſhop of Zagabria, whom that prince had rejected on account of his mean birth. Being likewiſe informed that the ſoltan of Egypt, after an attempt upon Ptolemais, had taken the caſtle of Saphet, and threatened the entire deſtruction of the Chriſtians, he ſent a nuncio into Syria, to animate them to conſtancy, and to aſſure them of ſpeedy aſſiſtance from the king of France, who had again taken the croſs.

Having received a letter from the Greek emperor, with a form of agreement with the Latin church, he returned an anſwer to that prince, diſapproving of the preſcribed form, and ſent an abſtract of the faith of the Roman church, to be publicly profeſſed by the emperor, patriarch, and clergy. At the ſame time, he granted to the competitors for the empire a farther prolongation of the time for determining their claim; and as the report prevailed of Conradin's preparations for entering Italy, he created Charles vicar of the empire: but the two competitors complaining of this ſtep, he wrote to them, declaring that he had not appointed him vicar, but conſervator of the peace in Tuſcany, for three years only; and that, if within that time any perſon ſhould be abſolutely declared emperor, he had bound him by oath to reſign that title. Mean while, the Gibeline faction in Lombardy and Tuſcany were earneſtly ſoliciting Conradin to haſten his expedition; deputies were ſent to him from Verona, Pavia, Sienna, Piſa, and ſeveral other cities; Sicily was on the point of revolting in his favour; Apulia was full of malecontents, who promiſed him their aſſiſtance; and Henry, brother to the king of Caſtile, then ſenator of Rome, ſecretly ſupported his intereſt in that city, though publicly he profeſſed an attachment to the pope. A.D. 1267.

The pope creates the count of Anjou vicar of the empire.

Clement, to ſupport the faction of the Guelphs and the intereſts of Charles, ſent a legate into Lombardy, who renewed the former alliance of the aſſociated cities, while he, reſiding at Viterbo, again publiſhed his prohibition againſt Conradin, unleſs he came in a peaceable manner to ſubmit to the deciſion of the apoſtolic ſee. But ſoon after, hearing that this prince had arrived at Verona, with an army of ten thouſand horſe, he declared him excommunicated, if he did not within a month leave Italy. About the ſame time he likewiſe granted to St. Lewis the tythe of

of estates in his kingdom, to support him in his expedition into Syria; and hearing that several Christians had become proselytes to the Jewish religion, he ordered the inquisitors to proceed against them as heretics [q].

A.D.1268. *Denounces excommunication against Conradin and his party.*

Mean while, the Saracens of Lucera, or Nocera, openly declaring in favour of Conradin, the pope published a crusade against them; and being informed that Conradin had advanced to Pavia, he again denounced a sentence of excommunication against him, and deprivation of his right to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and, if he did not within a month submit to the apostolic see, he declared him for ever incapable of possessing any dignity. He also excommunicated all his adherents, and laid all those cities who should favour him under an interdict. Notwithstanding these fulminations of the pope, Conradin, being reinforced by the Gibelines, defeated a large body of French cavalry at Arezzo, and marching in parade within sight of Viterbo, proceeded to Rome, where he was received by the senator Henry, and the Romans, with all the honours due to an emperor [r]. This prosperity was of very short continuance; for marching soon after into Apulia, he was entirely defeated by Charles, and being taken prisoner, he and some of his chief friends were executed as criminals [s]. Upon the news of the victory, Clement confirmed to Charles the dignity of conservator of the peace for ten years, and created him vicar of the empire in Tuscany. He likewise granted particular indulgences to the king of Portugal, who pretended to undertake an expedition into the Holy Land. Soon after, falling sick at Viterbo, he died on the 29th of November, having never been at Rome during his whole pontificate [t].

A.D.1269. *Clement dies at Viterbo. A vacancy in the Roman see.*

After the death of Clement, the Roman see continued vacant two years and nine months, an intermission owing to the disputes among the cardinals, who still continued at Viterbo. Mean while, the cities in Lombardy, upon various pretences, harrassed each other with mutual hostilities. The family of the Turriani, prefects of Milan, raised factions in that city, and attacked Lodi and Brescia; Bologna declared war against the Venetians, in defence of their navigation in the Adriatic and upon the Po; and the Guelphs harrassed the Gibeline faction all over Italy. Charles, king of Sicily, however, in order to fa-

[q] Spond. Annal. [r] Paduan. Chron. lib. iii. Ricord. cap. 191. & seq. Villan. lib. vii. cap. 24. usque 30. [s] Chron. Parmense. [t] Spond. Annal.

cilitate

cilitate the transportation of the crusaders into Syria, granted a peace to the Pisans; and soon after, he himself, with his brother St. Lewis, the king of Navarre, Edward, heir of the crown of England, the count of Flanders, and the three sons of St. Lewis, regulated the plan of their expedition. It was agreed, that Edward should sail directly for the Holy Land, but that St. Lewis and Charles should first attack the Saracens of Tunis, who interrupted the navigation of the Mediterranean. A.D. 1270. *A new crusade determined upon.*

Accordingly, in the following year, St. Lewis embarking about the middle of June, at Marseilles, with cardinal Rodolphus, bishop of Albano, the apostolical legate, he arrived with his fleet, after a dangerous voyage, at Carthage, which he quickly made himself master of: but, marching afterwards against Tunis, while he continued before that city, his army was seized with sickness, which carried off a great many of the nobles and soldiers. While the king was deliberating about reimbarking his troops, he was seized with the distemper, and died on the 25th of August, his brother, the king of Sicily, arriving the same day at the camp, together with the fleet of Edward, prince of England[u]. The distemper still continuing in the camp of the crusaders, and raging likewise in the city and camp of the enemy, a truce was concluded with the Tunisians for ten years, the Saracens engaging to defray the expences of the expedition, to pay yearly to the king of Sicily a sum equal to the tribute given by him to the holy see, to dismiss all prisoners, and to allow Christianity to be preached freely in their country. These terms being ratified, Edward, prince of England, proceeded with his fleet to the Holy Land; but as Philip, king of France, with his uncle Charles, and the king of Navarre, sailed for Sicily, in order to return to their own dominions, Edward sent back his cousin Henry, son of Richard, duke of Cornwall, to take care of Guienne, who, in his journey through Italy, was massacred in a church at Viterbo, by a son of the late Simon Montfort[w]. *St. Lewis dies at Tunis.*

The fleet that sailed for Sicily meeting with a storm on that coast, a great many ships were lost, and the princes escaped with great difficulty. The king of France immediately passed over into Italy, and, attended by his uncle Charles, went to Viterbo, where both the kings earnestly solicited the cardinals to proceed to an election; but their A.D. 1271.

[u] Pod. Laurent. Chron. cap. 51. Murator. tom. iii. Chron. Parmen.

[w] Vit. Pontif. Rom. apud

intreaties

intreaties having no effect upon the electors, who every one aspired to the papal dignity, they took leave of each other, and proceeded to their own dominion [x]. The contention among the cardinals continued for several months; A.D.1272. but at length, on the 1st of September, they chose Theald, or Thibaut, a native of Placenza, archdeacon of Liege, who was then in the Holy Land with Edward, prince of England. Upon receiving the news of his election, he set sail for Italy, and arrived at Brindisi about the middle of January. The king of Sicily conducted him to Copperano with great respect: thence proceeding to Viterbo, he was joined by the cardinals, and went with them to Rome, where he was consecrated on the 25th of March, and assumed the name of Gregory X.

Gregory X. is elected pope.

He sends succours to the Holy Land.

Before he left Viterbo, he solicited the kings of France and Sicily to send succours into the Holy Land, and prohibited, under pain of excommunication, the sending of any ships or military stores to the Saracens. He likewise raised five hundred horse, which he embarked in three Venetian ships for Syria [y]. Immediately after his consecration, he published letters, addressed to all the princes and prelates, appointing a general council to be held within two years, in some city to be afterwards determined. Soon after, going to Orvieto, he sent some Dominicans and Franciscans to the king of Portugal, to exhort him to cease oppressing the ecclesiastics; and he granted a suspension for seven months of the general interdict, which had been denounced by the bishops of that kingdom. He likewise continued the negociations of his predecessor for uniting the Greek and Roman churches, and sent four Dominicans to Palæologus, inviting him to be present at the council. Soon after, Edward, who had now succeeded to the crown of England by the death of his father, arriving at Orvieto, on his return from the Holy Land, Gregory received him with great affection, and declared that he had excommunicated the son of Simon, who had murdered his cousin.

A.D.1273. In the course of the following year, the pope again published his letters for a general council to be held at Lyons; and having appointed Aldebrandino Cavaleanti, bishop of Viterbo, his vicar in Italy, set out for Florence. There he effected a reconciliation betwixt the Guelphs and the Gibelines, by the assistance of the king of Sicily; but the

Appoints a general council to be held at Lyons.

[x] Nang. in Philip. III. Chron. Parmens. apud Murator. tom. ix.
[y] Spond. Annal.

Guelphs,

Guelphs, a few days afterwards, violating the terms of the treaty, he was so offended that he left the city, and laid it under an interdict. From Florence, he repaired to his native city of Placenza, taking with him Otho Visconti, archbishop of Milan, who, for more than nine years, had been rejected by the Turriani, who were prefects of the city. Gregory, in order to facilitate a reconciliation, made one of the Turriani patriarch of Aquileia; however, being informed that their faction would still oppose Otho, he left him behind when he proceeded to that place The Milanese received him with great honour and respect; but as he was dissatisfied with them for rejecting their archbishop, he granted no indulgences while he continued in their city, and, upon his departure, laid it under an interdict. Arriving at Lyons about the middle of November, he immediately received a visit from Philip, king of France, who left a strong body of men in the city, as a guard to the pope and the members of the council.

Lays the city of Milan under an interdict.

Mean while Gregory, having urged the German princes to proceed to an election of an emperor, and even threatened, in case of their farther delay, to appoint one to that dignity by his sole authority, the electors at length assembled at Frankfort; and, notwithstanding the protestations of Alphonso's ambassadors, and the opposition of those of Bohemia, chose Rodolphus, count of Hapsburgh, in the diocese of Constance, near Basil, who had been for many years master of the horse to the king of Bohemia, and was more eminent for his military genius than for his large possessions. The election of Rodolphus was not disagreeable to Gregory, who obliged Alphonso to resign in his favour, after the celebration of the council, which assembled on the 1st of May.

Rodolphus chosen emperor.

SECT. IX.

Continuation of the Transactions in Italy to the Celebration of the first Jubilee.

THIS council was the most numerous that had ever assembled, consisting of five hundred bishops, sixty abbots, and about one thousand other prelates. There were present likewise the king of Arragon, the masters of the Hospitallers and Templars, the ambassadors of Rodolphus, and of Philip and Hugh, kings of France and Cyprus, besides those of the Greek emperor, the king of Tartary,

A.D 1274.

Proceedings of the council of Lyons.

and the metropolitans of the Eaſt. The pope, after the uſual ceremonies, performed at the opening of the council, informed the members that he had aſſembled them to procure ſuccours for the Holy Land, to conſult about an union of the Greek and Latin churches, as well as of the reformation of diſcipline and manners; and laſtly, to preſcribe ſome method for the ſpeedy election of a pope upon a vacancy in the holy ſee. After the firſt ſeſſion, the prelates, by themſelves, decreed the tithes of all eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions for the ſix following years for the relief of the Holy Land. In the ſecond ſeſſion, which was held on the 18th of the ſame month, ſome articles of faith were publiſhed; and in the third, held on the 7th of June, ſome canons were decreed, relating to the elections, and conferring of benefices, the immunity of the clergy, the reformation of manners, and the regulations of proceſſions. Before this ſeſſion, the king of Arragon left the council, as Gregory had refuſed to crown him, unleſs he paid the tribute granted by his father to the holy ſee.

The Greek ambaſſadors arrived before the fourth ſeſſion, which was held the 24th of June. They conſented to allow the ſupremacy of the Roman ſee, and the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from both the Father and the Son; but in compliance with the weakneſs of the people, they deſired that the creed might be repeated in their churches in the ſame manner as before the ſchiſm, and that thoſe ceremonies that were not oppoſite to the Roman faith might ſtill be preſerved. The ſmaller matters being overlooked by the council, the chief articles were ſworn to by the ambaſſadors, in the name of the emperor. Several authors affirm, that this was the thirteenth time that the Greeks had ſubſcribed to the doctrines of the church of Rome [z]. In this ſeſſion Henry, biſhop of Liege, was depoſed, for his debauched and ſcandalous life, as was Frederic, abbot of St. Paul, of the city of Rome, for his exceſſes. In the fifth ſeſſion, held on the 16th of July, Gregory publiſhed the conſtitutions for regulating the election of the popes, ordaining, that the cardinals on that occaſion ſhould be ſhut up in the conclave, and allowed only one diſh of ſimple victuals, till they had concluded the election. Next day Gregory, having exhorted the prelates to a voluntary reformation of manners, and to preach up a cruſade into Syria, diſmiſſed the council, and ſent the abbot of Monte Caſſino, with the Greek ambaſſadors, to

The Greek emperor ſwears to ſubmit to the church of Rome.

[z] Platin. in Vit. Greg. Blond. dec. ii. lib. 8, &c.

Conſtan-

Constantinople, to congratulate the emperor upon the union of the two churches.

In the council, the ambassadors of the king of Castile insisted upon the rights of their master to the empire; but Gregory would not admit his claim, as he had never been crowned at Aix la Chapelle: however, to prevail with him to make a voluntary resignation, he sent a nuncio into Spain, offering him the tithes of all ecclesiastical revenues in his kingdom, to assist him in his wars with the Moors. In the mean time, the ambassadors of Rodolphus, promising, in the name of their master, fidelity and obedience to the Roman see, and declaring that he would not attack Charles, king of Sicily, nor invade the patrimony of St. Peter, Gregory, in a consistory of the cardinals, and several German prelates, confirmed his election, and invited him to receive the imperial crown at Rome [a]. During these transactions at Lyons, Lombardy was continually harrassed by the different factions; Napus Turrianus, at Milan, was appointed general-vicar of that city, by the emperor Rodolphus; the city of Bologna was greatly afflicted by opposite factions, distinguished by the names of their leaders, Jerom and Lamberti [b].

The pope confirms the election of Rodolphus.

A contagious distemper raging in Lyons [c], Gregory left that city, and next year went to Beaucaire, in Provence, where he had an interview with Alphonso, king of Castile, who came thither in hopes of prevailing with the pope, to revoke the confirmation of the empire, given to Rodolphus: but Gregory, being unmoved by his representations, he departed greatly dissatisfied, and, upon his return to Spain, reassumed the imperial ensigns. Before he removed from Beaucaire, Gregory wrote to the king of Arragon, reproving him for taking away the wife of one of his nobles, and threatening him with excommunication if he did not dismiss her. He likewise threatened the king of Portugal with an anathema, for violating the liberties of the church, and refusing to pay the accustomed tribute to the holy see. Advancing afterwards to Lausanne, in his way to Italy, he had an interview in that city, with the emperor Rodolphus, who confirmed by oath what his ambassador had sworn to at Lyons, and promised to undertake an expedition into Syria against the Saracens without delay. The pope, upon his arrival at Milan, desired the

A.D. 1275.

The king of Castile has a conference with Gregory;

[a] Vita Greg. apud Murator. tom. iii. Platina. Chron. Parmens. Sponn. Annales. Struv. period. ix. p. 518. [b] Sigon. lib. xx. p. 113. [c] Chron. Parmens.

archbishop Otho still to continue in exile; and proceeding from thence to Arezzo, died in that city in the following year, on the 10th of January, being prevented from executing his purpose of returning to the Holy Land.

who dies at Arezzo.

Innocent V. elected pope.

Ten days after the death of Gregory, the cardinals elected the bishop of Ostia, called Peter of Tarantaise, from the place of his birth. He was consecrated at Rome on the 22d of February, took the name of Innocent V. and immediately used his endeavours to put an end to the factions and civil dissensions in Italy. He absolved the Florentines from the interdict of Gregory, and sent an embassy to the Greek emperor; but he was prevented from reconciling the Genoese and Venetians by death, which overtook him at Rome on the 22d of June, in the sixth month of his pontificate [d].

Hadrian V.

After a vacancy of nineteen days, Ottoboni, a native of Genoa, and nephew of Innocent IV. was elected pope, and took the name of Hadrian V. Immediately after his election, Blondus and Trithemius affirm, that he secretly solicited the emperor Rodolphus to come into Italy, to repress the exorbitant power of Charles, who acted very arbitrarily at Rome [e]. While he was expecting the answer of Rodolphus, he died at Viterbo, in the thirty-seventh day of his pontificate.

John XXI. chosen pope.

Twenty-five days after the death of Hadrian, John Peter, born at Lisbon, and cardinal bishop of Tusculum, was elected pope at Viterbo, and took the name of John XXI. Stero, Bernardus, Guido, Platina, and other authors, relate, that, though he was accounted a learned man, he disgraced the pontificate by the inconstancy and levity of his behaviour; yet they reckon him worthy of praise, for assisting poor scholars with pensions and preferments. He put the emperor Rodolphus in mind of his vow of a crusade, and sent the archbishop of Corinth for the same purpose to Philip, king of France. He likewise sent nuncios to the great cham of Tartary, for the confirmation of the faithful in his dominions. He is accused by Platina of neglecting to assist the inhabitants of Ancona against the exactions of the Venetians, who would not allow the others to trade to Dalmatia, unless they paid high duties to their republic [f]. Another author likewise affirms, that he published some decrees to the prejudice of the monks, and that he neglected and despised the con-

A.D. 1277.

He sends nuncios to the cham of Tartary.

[d] Vita Innoc. ap. eund. [e] Blond. dec. ii. lib. 8. Trithem. in Chron. Hirsang. [f] Platin. in Vita Joan.

stitutions

ſtitutions of the council of Lyons, particularly that relating to the conclave of cardinals, which had been ſuſpended by his predeceſſor Hadrian [g]. While he was promiſing himſelf a long life, he was killed, in the ninth month of his pontificate, by the fall of the roof of a chamber, which he cauſed to be built at Viterbo. *He is killed at Viterbo.*

Mean while the war was renewed betwixt the two factions of the Viſconti and Turriani in Milan. Otho Viſconti, the archbiſhop, immediately upon the death of Gregory, conſulting with the other noble exiles at Pavia, they aſſembled a body of forces, and gave the command of them to count Godfrey of that city. Their troops were twice defeated by the Turriani; but the cities of Como, Novara, and Pavia, declaring in their favour, they in their turn gained a ſignal victory, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral towns in the territory of Milan. This ſucceſs occaſioned another engagement, in which the Turriani were entirely defeated, and Napus the prefect, and ſeveral other nobles of his party, taken priſoners. Otho uſed this victory with great moderation. Being now invited by the inhabitants of Milan to take poſſeſſion of the archiepiſcopal dignity, he entered the city, and proceeding to the church of St. Ambroſe, was there declared their ſpiritual and temporal ſovereign [h]. *Otho Viſconti obtains poſſeſſion of the archbiſhoprick of Milan.*

At the death of John, the college of cardinals was reduced to ſeven, three of them Frenchmen, and four Italians; but, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of their number, it was more than ſix months before they determined upon their choice of a pope, being chiefly interrupted by the intrigues of the king of Sicily, who laboured earneſtly to have one of the French cardinals elected [i]. At length, A.D. 1278. John Cajetan, a Roman, of the family of the Orſini, and cardinal-archdeacon, was elected, and took the name of Nicholas III. He was conſecrated ſoon after at Rome; but before he left Viterbo, he ſent a Dominican and Franciſcan as his legates into France and Spain, to reconcile Philip and Alphonſo, king of Caſtile, who both pretended to the kingdom of Navarre. Upon his arrival at Rome, he diſmiſſed thoſe legates to Tartary, who had been ordered thither by his predeceſſor; and having received an embaſſy from the Greek emperor, he ſent the biſhop of Graſſeto, in Tuſcany, with three Franciſcans, *Nicholas III. elected pope.*

[g] Ptol. Lucenſ. in Annal. Spond. Annales. [h] Sigon. lib. xx. p. 116, & 117. [i] Platin. in Vita Nicol. Blond. dec. ii. lib. viii.

as his nuncios to that emperor, to satisfy the scruples of those Greek bishops who still continued in the schism, and to confirm the peace betwixt Palæologus, and Charles, king of Sicily, and Philip the successor of Baldwin, commonly styled emperor of Constantinople, who still possessed Negroponte, and some other places on the coasts of Greece.

Rodolphus confirms the articles which he had sworn to at Lausanne.

Mean while Nicholas was very importunate with the emperor Rodolphus to fulfil what he had promised to Gregory at Lausanne. The emperor justified his delay, by alleging, that the king of Sicily had not yet been obliged to quit the title of vicar of Tuscany; however, he sent Conrad of Tubingen as his plenipotentiary to Rome, who, in the presence of Nicholas, twelve cardinals, and a great many bishops and nobles, ratified the articles formerly agreed to by Rodolphus at Lausanne, whereby he ceded to the holy see all the fiefs situated betwixt Radicophani and Ceperano, the exarchate of Ravenna, Pentapolis, the March of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, the estate of the countess Mathilda, the county of Bertinoro in Romania, and all the lands granted by the emperors to the holy see since the time of Lewis the Debonnaire. Rodolphus, by these concessions, only parted with a right to receive homage from subjects who had been contesting that privilege for near one hundred years with the emperors, and who, in their submissions to the pope, reserved all the privileges they were then in possession of, which rendered them almost entirely independent and sovereign. During these transactions, Charles was prevailed upon to resign the vicariate of Tuscany and the senatorial dignity to the pope, who immediately published a decree, that no emperor, king, or any person possessing an eminent title, or any relations of such, should be capable of enjoying the senatorial dignity, which, for the future, should only be an annual office [k].

Charles resigns the senatorial dignity and title of vicar of Tuscany.

Some authors affirm, that Nicholas reserved the senatorial dignity to himself during his life; and he is accused by several historians of having had ambitious views in his transactions with the emperor and king of Sicily, the last of whom he had resolved to repress, because he had disdainfully refused to give his grand-daughter in marriage to one of his nephews, declaring, that though the pope wore red shoes, yet his blood was unworthy to be allied with that of kings. Nicholas is said to have intended to create

[k] Sigon. ubi supra.

two

two kings of the family of the Orsini, one in Tuscany, and another in Lombardy; but his short pontificate prevented the execution of his schemes [l]. About this time he sent his brother, whom he had created count of Romaniola, with an army into that county, to reduce some cities that refused to submit to the church. He likewise sent his nephew Latinus, a Dominican friar, and bishop of Ostia, as his legate into Tuscany and Lombardy, to reconcile the contending factions in those parts. Mean while Philip, bishop of Formo, who had been sent as legate into Germany, reconciled some of the princes to Rodolphus, and proceeding to Hungary, excommunicated Ladislaus the king, who oppressed his Christian subjects, and plundered the churches and monasteries. This sentence produced a reformation in the king, who was thereupon absolved by the legate [m]. About the same time cardinal Jerom, general-minister of the Franciscans, while he was exercising his office of legate in Paris, by the advice of a great many of his brethren, condemned the doctrines of Roger Bacon, an English friar of the same order, who, for his surprising knowlege in divinity, natural philosophy, and mathematics, had acquired the title of the Wonderful Doctor. According to Pitseus, Roger's great merit having drawn upon him the envy of his ignorant brethren, his doctrines were not only condemned, but he himself was likewise imprisoned by order of his general [n].

The pope sends an army to reduce Romaniola.

In the course of the following year Nicholas received an embassy from the Greek emperor, informing him of what he had done, to prevail with his subjects to acknowlege the supremacy of the Roman church; but, notwithstanding all his endeavours, the greatest part of his own relations and kindred still violently opposed the union of the two churches, and had broke out into an open rebellion, which his army had not then been able to quell. He informed him besides, that a synod of one hundred monks, a few abbots, and eight bishops, had assembled and excommunicated the pope, the emperor, and the patriarch of Constantinople, and all those adhering to them; therefore that he could not urge the intended union any farther at that time, lest he should be deposed by his rebellious subjects [o].

A.D. 1279.

He receives an embassy from the Greek emperor;

[l] Vita Nicol. ap. Murator. Spond. Ann. Platin. Blond. Istor. di Ricordan. apud Murator, tom. viii. [m] Spond. Annal. [n] Wadding. Annal. tom. ii. Pitseus de Script. Anglor. hoc anno. [o] Spond. Annal.

At the same period Latinus, the legate in Lombardy, denounced a sentence of interdict and excommunication against the city of Parma, on account of a violent outrage committed against the inquisitors of that city who having ordered a certain noble lady to be burnt for heresy, were attacked by the mob, and one of them killed, and many of the rest greatly wounded. The house was likewise plundered and pulled to the ground. The magistracy of Parma sent ambassadors to the pope, begging absolution; which they A D. 1280. could not at that time obtain [p]. Nicolas was then engaged in reconciling the emperor and the king of Sicily; Rodolphus having given the investiture of the counties of Provence and Forcalguier to Margaret, widow of St. Lewis, in opposition to the pretensions of Charles, which were founded on his contract of marriage, and the last will of his deceased father-in-law. After several months spent in the negociation, Nicolas at length being appointed arbitrator, the peace was signed in the month of April, when it was agreed, that the counties above mentioned should be ceded to Charles as fiefs of the empire; and that a marriage should be concluded betwixt his grandson Charles Martel, and Clemence, the emperor's daughter [q].

He reconciles Rodolphus and the king of Sicily.

Nicholas enters into a conspiracy against Charles.

The pope seems to have engaged in this affair more from a regard to the emperor than to Charles; for he entered into the conspiracy which the Sicilians were forming against their king. The chief promoters of this conspiracy was John de Procida, of Salerno, formerly one of the counsellors to the emperor Frederic, and his son Manfred, who, knowing the great aversion of the Sicilian nobles to the French government, concerted with them the plan of a revolt in favour of Peter, king of Arragon, who had married the only daughter of Manfred. John having drawn the Greek emperor into his measures, came to Viterbo, in the habit of a Franciscan, and obtained the consent of the pope. Nicholas likewise gave him letters to the king of Arragon, to whom he promised the investiture of Sicily and Naples; but before the plot could be put in execution, he died of an apoplexy, on the 20th of August, at Suriano, in the diocese of Viterbo [r].

He dies at Viterbo.

Immediately upon the death of Nicholas, the inhabitants of Viterbo expelled his nephew Ursus, who had been appointed their pretor; and the family of Hanni-

[p] Chron. Parmens. Sigon. lib. xx. p. 119. [q] Ptol. Lucens. Villan. lib. viii. cap. 55. Rainer. ad an. 1279, p. 10. [r] Istor. di Ricord. ap. Muratori. tom viii. cap. 206 & 207. Fazell. Dec. i. lib viii. cap. 4. Collen. Hist. Neap. lib. v. Vita Nicol. ap. Murator. See also the History of Naples.

bali

bali at Rome, having assembled their party in the Capitol, deprived the Orsini of part of their authority. These disturbances occasioned great contests in the conclave at Viterbo; for two of the cardinals of the Orsini family declared, that they would not allow an election to be made, till their relation Ursus was restored to his pretorship. But the inhabitants of Viterbo, at the instigation of the king of Sicily and Richard of the family of the Hannibali, who had the guard of the conclave, broke in upon the cardinals, and carrying off the two Orsini, kept them prisoners in irons; upon which the others, on the 21st of February, elected Simon de Brio, a Frenchman, and cardinal of the titles of St. Cecilia, who took the name of Martin IV. and was consecrated at Orvieto, having laid the city of Viterbo under a sentence of interdict and excommunication, on account of the violence they had committed against the cardinals. The new pope immediately after his consecration, having received the senatorial dignity from the Romans, appointed the king of Sicily as his deputy. He likewise recalled Berthold from Romaniola; and sent John Eppa, his nephew, to carry on the war in that province, against those who still refused to submit to the church. Great confusions continuing at Rome, cardinal Orsini, the late pope's brother, was sent thither to compose the factions. Upon his arrival, he found his family in possession of the chief authority, and the Hannibali banished; but both parties referring their disputes to his arbitration, peace was restored; upon which Martin granted the Romans a power of chusing annually two senators from among themselves to govern the city.

A.D. 1281.

Martin IV. is elected.

He confers the senatorial dignity on Charles;

Martin in the mean time being alarmed at the great preparations of the king of Arragon, who was fitting out a formidable fleet, under pretence of invading the Saracens, he sent a legate to him to enquire against what Saracens his expedition was intended, with an offer of assistance. But Peter replying, that if he thought his shirt knew his intentions he would tear it off and burn it, the legate took his leave, but prohibited him, under pain of excommunication, from turning his arms against any Christian prince. Charles, however, instead of guarding his own dominions, was preparing to invade those of the Greek emperor, against whom he sollicited the pope to publish a sentence of excommunication. Martin, who was only a tool to his ambition, accordingly excommunicated Michael, upon pretence of his not observing the articles of union agreed to at the council of Lyons,

and at his desire excommunicates the Greek emperor.

Lyons, and his unjuſtly poſſeſſing the empire belonging to the ſon of Baldwin. He likewiſe prohibited all kings and princes from entering into any alliance or ſociety with the Greek emperor, under pain of excommunication [s]. Mean while the emperor, Rodolphus, at the ſollicitation of the Gibelines, ſent his chancellor Otho, with three hundred horſe, to demand the allegiance of the cities of Tuſcany. But none conſenting to ſwear allegiance, except Piſa and Sauminiano, by their aſſiſtance he attacked the inhabitants of Lucca and Florence, and the other Guelphs in thoſe parts; but after ſome unſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, an accommodation was agreed to, and he returned to Germany [t].

A.D 1282. *The French maſſacred by the Sicilians.*

In the courſe of the following year, while Charles was with the pope at Orvieto, they were alarmed with the news of the revolt of the Sicilians, who, on Eaſter Monday, on the ringing of the bells for veſpers, had ſurpriſed and maſſacred all the French in their iſland, not ſparing even their own countrywomen, whom they ſuſpected to be with child by Frenchmen [u]. Upon receiving the news of this maſſacre, the pope made a public proceſſion through the ſtreets of Orvieto, excommunicated the Sicilians, and laid their iſland under an interdict. To thoſe likewiſe who aſſiſted Charles againſt the Sicilians, he granted the ſame indulgences as the cruſards had formerly enjoyed. Soon after, hearing that the king of Arragon had landed with an army in Sicily, to take poſſeſſion of it in right of his wife, he excomunicated him and all his adherents, and laid his kingdom of Arragon under an interdict (P). This ſentence having no effect upon

A.D. 1283. *The king of Arragon is depoſed for invading Sicily.*

[s] Iſtor. di Ricord. ubi ſupra. Platin. Fazel. 2 D. viii. cap. 4. [t] Sigon. ubi ſupra. Villan. lib. viii. cap. 55. [u] Iſtor di Ricord. Fazel. See the Hiſtory of Naples.

(P) Spondanus complains, that, to the great diſgrace of Chriſtianity, the Paduans this year ſhewed, that they valued their prieſts no more than a penny; their ſenate, upon account of the great inſolence and profligacy of their clergy, having made a decree, that whoever ſhould kill a prieſt, ſhould only be fined in one groſs, which is a penny: in conſequence of this edict, many perſons quickly forfeited their penny; which the pope being informed of, he ordered the patriarch of Aquileia to excommunicate the ſenate of Padua,

upon the king, a few months after Martin depoſed him from the kingdom of Arragon, which he gave to Charles of Valois, the youngeſt ſon of the king of France. He likewiſe ſent cardinal Coletus to the king of England, deſiring him to prohibit the kings of Sicily and Arragon, from fighting the duel which they had agreed to at Bourdeaux. Peter ſtill continuing his hoſtilities againſt Charles in Sicily, and appealing for the juſtice of his cauſe to the deciſion of a future pope, Martin ordered cardinal Coletus, his legate in France, to confirm the ceſſion of Arragon to Charles of Valois, and to preach a cruſade againſt Peter, with the uſual indulgences. Being informed likewiſe, that Edward, king of England, propoſed to give his daughter Leonora to Peter's eldeſt ſon, he prohibited the alliance, under pain of excommunication [w].

The prince of Caſtile excommunicated for rebelling againſt his father.

At the ſame time Sancho, eldeſt ſon of the king of Caſtile, having rebelled againſt his father, he excommunicated him and his followers, and laid thoſe cities that favoured his party under an interdict. Michael Palæologus dying at Conſtantinople, his ſon Andronicus ſucceeded to that empire, and quickly diſcovered his attatchment to the Greek ceremonies; for, becauſe his father had adhered to the Roman church, he buried him at night in a private manner in the fields. He likewiſe ordered a Greek patriarch to be elected, who reſtored the exiles, and oppreſſed thoſe who adhered to the union of the Latins [x].

A.D.1284.

At this period, Charles the Lame, eldeſt ſon of the king of Naples, was defeated at ſea, by the Sicilian admiral, and carried priſoner to Sicily. Martin immediately ſent two cardinals as his legates into that kingdom, to demand the liberty of the prince, and to mediate a peace betwixt the Sicilians and Charles; but the rebels refuſing all accommodation, the legates renewed the ſentence of excommunication, and left the iſland. A few months after, Charles dying at Foggia, while his ſon was ſtill in

A.D.1285.

The death of the king of Naples, and the pope.

[w] Fazel, ut ſupra.

[x] Onuphr. in Chron. Eccleſ. Gregoras, lib. v. ad finem.

Padua, and to lay the city under an interdict: though the ſenate quickly reapealed the decree, yet they were not abſolved from the ſentence of the patriarch till ſeven years afterwards (1).

(1) Spond. Annal. hoc an Jacob. Cavac. lib. iii. Hiſt. Cænob. S. Juſtin. Patav.

captivity,

captivity, the pope appointed his legate cardinal Gerard, bishop of Parma, as baillie, or administrator of the kingdom, in conjunction with Robert, count of Artois, and Mary of Hungary, the wife of the captive prince. Martin survived the king of Sicily only a few weeks. He died at Perugia, on the 28th of March, and was buried in the cathedral church of that city.

Honorius IV. is elected pope.

Four days after the death of Martin, James Sabellus, a Roman, and cardinal-deacon, of the title of St. Mary, in Cosmedin, was elected pope, and took the name of Honorius IV. Before his consecration, which was performed at St. Peter's, on the 16th of April, he gave an answer to the ambassadors of the king of England, who requested, that in his expedition against Scotland he might be allowed to raise the tithes granted for the crusade by the synod of Lyons. Honorius refused to allow him any authority over his neighbouring kingdom; and at the same time appointed him a limited time for performing his expedition into Syria [y]. He likewise renewed the sentence of his predecessor against the king of Arragon. In order to carry on the war against the Sicilians, he raised the tithes in the dioceses of Liege, Metz, and Basil, and in some others in the neighbourhood, notwithstanding the petition of the imperial ambassadors, who requested an exemption from that tax. Being informed of the death of Peter, king of Arragon, which happened in the beginning of November, he excommunicated both his sons, Alphonso, the eldest, for detaining Charles the Lame, king of Naples, and James for usurping the kingdom of Sicily [z].

A.D. 1286.

Invites Rodolphus to receive the imperial crown.

Honorius likewise solicited the emperor Rodolphus to come and receive the imperial crown at Rome; but that emperor, more intent upon establishing his family, and providing honours for his children, thought it not prudent to march into Italy, were he knew he would meet with great opposition, if he should insist upon the rights of the empire, which for more than a hundred years had been contested by the powerful cities of Lombardy. However, he pretended still an intention of visiting Italy, as soon as his affairs would permit; and in the mean time sent the bishop of Basil as his chancellor to receive the allegiance of the Italian cities. But the greatest part of them, during the troubles that succeeded in Germany upon the death of Frederic II. having acquired a kind of indepen-

y Spond. Annales. z Surit. Indic. lib. ii.

dency,

dency, they refused to take the oath prescribed by the chancellor. Rodolphus being informed by him of their opposition, and finding himself unable to reduce them by force, wrote to his chancellor to confirm their privileges in their full extent, on condition of their paying certain sums of money as an equivalent. This condition was very acceptable to the Italian cities; accordingly Florence, Genoa, Bologna, and Lucca, obtained the confirmation of their liberties, upon payment of the sums specified by the chancellor; while others, sensible of the small authority of the empire in Italy, asserted their independency, but refused to give any money for that liberty, of which they were then in possession. Though Rodolphus, by this accommodation, only extended the privileges which the cities had obtained from Frederic Barbarossa, and did not absolutely separate them from the empire, which they even then acknowleged, yet this period is reckoned the beginning of the Italian independency and liberty; for the German emperors afterwards had but a mere shadow of authority in Italy [a].

The Italian cities purchase their liberty from Rodolphus.

The pope was greatly pleased with this conduct of the emperor, as he foresaw that it would strengthen the authority of the holy see, which, by the assistance of Guido Montfort, the English refugee, had at last reduced Romaniola. As another accession of power, the chancellor at this time, in the name of Rodolphus, made a new cession of the exarchate of Ravenna to the apostolic see. Honorius in return, as a mark of his regard for the chancellor, created him archbishop of Mentz, and, upon his departure from Italy, sent John Buccamali, bishop of Tusculum, along with him, as legate into Germany. The pope likewise wrote to the archbishop of Strigonia, to reprove the king of Hungary for his attachment to the pagan rites of the Cumani, or Culmacks. Soon after, being informed that Edward I. king of England, had acted as mediator betwixt the king of Arragon and the king of France, and had proposed that Sicily should be ceded to James, the brother of the king of Arragon, on condition that Charles the Lame should be set at liberty, and left in quiet possession of the kingdom of Naples, he disapproved of their disposing of Sicily, which was a fief of the apostolic see, without his consent, and prohibited them, on pain of excommunication, from proceeding farther in that

A.D. 1287.

Honorius disapproves of the mediation of the king of England betwixt the kings of France and Arragon.

[a] Sigon. lib. xx. p. ult. Blond. ut supra. Krantzius. Struv. period ix. Catena Histor. lib. xxix. cap. 2.

treaty.

treaty. Mean while John Buccamali, legate in Germany, held a council at Wirtzburg, and having published several canons, to be observed in Germany, Bohemia, Denmark, and the other northern provinces, made a demand of the fourth part of all ecclesiastical revenues in Germany for four years. Conrad, bishop of Toul, opposed this demand; and, after severely exclaiming against the court of Rome, appealed to a future general council: his opinion was seconded by the whole assembly, which immediately fell into great confusion and uproar; so that Rodolphus was obliged to send soldiers into the church to rescue the legate from their fury [b]. The legate did not appear abroad for several days; and soon after, being informed of the death of Honorius, which happened at Rome, on the 3d of April, he immediately departed for Italy.

He dies at Rome.

A.D. 1288. Upon the death of Honorius, the Roman see continued vacant almost eleven months; for an earthquake happening soon after his death, and several cardinals dying of an epidemical sickness, they delayed the election till the 22d of February, when they chose cardinal Jerom, bishop of Pilastrina, who took the name of Nicholas IV. Immediately after his consecration, he sent two nuncios to the king of Arragon, to intercede for the liberty of Charles the Lame, and to summon the king to appear at Rome within six months, to justify his conduct. As Alphonso gave his consent, provided he might come with security to himself, Nicholas granted him a safe-conduct, and prevailed with the king of France and his allies to do the same. He likewise desired the kings of France and England, together with his legate, to endeavour in the mean time to procure the liberty of Charles, which they accordingly effected, by a treaty concluded in a village of the Pyrenees.

Nicholas IV. is elected pope.

A. D. 1289. About the same time, having received an embassy from the king of the Tartars in Lesser Tartary, expressing his affection for the Christian religion, and desiring to receive baptism in the city of Jerusalem, which he intended to take from the Saracens, Nicholas wrote to him not to delay his baptism, and granted large privileges to the Franciscans in that kingdom, to encourage them in their labours [c]. He likewise ordered Latinus, bishop of Ostia, with two other cardinals, to judge of the complaints of

Receives an embassy from the Tartars of Lesser Tartary.

[b] Aventin, lib. vii p. 572 & 573. Spond. Annal. [c] Annales Minor. tom. ii. hoc an. Spond. Annal.

the

the archbishop of Braga against the king of Portugal, who was accused of violating the immunity of the ecclesiastics in their persons and revenues, and of publishing some decrees against the authority of the church. The ambassadors of the king and the clergy appearing at Rome, it was agreed that the laws to the prejudice of the ecclesiastics should be repealed, and heavy penalties were decreed against the king or any others, who, for the future, should infringe the privileges of the clergy. Nicholas, having confirmed this decree of the cardinals, sent it to the prior of the Dominicans and the Franciscans at Lisbon, with orders to take off the sentence of interdict, upon the king's swearing to submit to the apostolical mandate [d]. A few weeks after, the pope having gone to Rieti, there crowned Charles, king of Naples and Sicily, upon his submitting to the same conditions which his father had sworn to, upon receiving the investiture from Clement IV. The pope likewise annulled all the pactions which he had agreed to with the king of Arragon, as prejudicial to the rights of the Roman see [e]. About the same time he erected an university at Montpellier; and having received another embassy from the king of the Tartars of Lesser Tartary, informing him, that the great cham, the emperor of all the Tartars, was desirous of having some Latin priests in his dominions; he wrote to the cham, and exhorted him immediately to receive baptism.

The king of Portugal makes satisfaction for the injuries done to the clergy.

Mean while the soltan of Egypt, after a long and difficult siege, surprised and took Tripoli, which he entirely destroyed, killing seven thousand Christians, and carrying the rest into captivity, excepting a few that fled to Acon and Cyprus. He seized some other Christian garrisons; but that he might not awaken the resentment of the European powers against him, he concluded a truce with the other Christians in Palestine. However, Nicolas immediately sent considerable succours thither on board some Venetian ships at his own expence; but as the soltan had withdrawn his forces, they came too late to be of any great service. He likewise exhorted the christian princes to another crusade, but without effect; for, since the misfortunes of St. Lewis, the zeal for that service was greatly abated in Europe [f].

The Saracens take and destroy Tripoli.

[d] Bzov. & Wadding. hoc an. Marian. lib. xiv. cap. 11. Nang. in Chron. [e] Surit. Indic. lib. ii. [f] Sanut. contin. Bell. Sacr. &c.

Next

A.D. 1290. Next year, he created Roderic, a Franciscan, archbishop of Morocco, and appointed him apostolic legate in all Africa. Having also received many complaints of the great oppression of the clergy in England, he sent a legate into that kingdom, to reform the abuses and discipline of the church. Being informed of the death of Ladislaus, king of Hungary, he allowed his legate at Naples to crown Charles Martel, son of Charles the Lame, king of Hungary, in right of his mother, the only sister to Ladislaus, who died without issue. He delayed sending him into Hungary, because the Hungarian nobles, even before the death of Ladislaus, had chosen a king, from another branch of the royal family; but he sent two nuncios to Rodolphus, to prohibit him from attempting any thing to the prejudice of the rights of Charles Martel, in favour of his own son Albert, duke of Austria [g].

The pope appoints a legate in Africa.

A.D. 1291. The king of Arragon, being still attacked by the French and their allies the Castilians, in consequence of his deposition by Martin IV. was now very desirous of being reconciled to the apostolic see, and sent an ambassador to the pope, intreating his mediation to procure a peace. Nicolas was likewise solicited to the same purpose by Edward, king of England, who, as he had been the chief instrument of procuring the liberty of Charles, thought himself obliged to see the articles performed. Accordingly the pope, at his intreaty, granted a commission to two legates to compose all differences, who holding a congress at Tarascone, in Provence, with the ambassadors of the kings of France, Arragon, and Sicily, and of Charles Valois, pretender to the crown of Arragon, concluded a peace on these conditions; that the king of Arragon should pay, according to the agreement of his ancestors, an annual tribute of thirty ounces of gold to the see of Rome; should restore the hostages of Charles, king of Naples; should oblige his mother and brother to restore Sicily; should go to Rome and ask pardon of the pope, and afterwards lead an army to the assistance of the Christians in Palestine. On performance of those conditions, Charles Valois agreed to quit his pretensions to his kingdom, and the pope promised to take off the sentence of interdict [h]. Alphonso was prevented from fulfilling the conditions of the treaty by his death, which happened in a few months after its ratification.

The king of Arragon is reconciled to the see of Rome.

[g] Spond. Annal. See also the History of Hungary. [h] Summont. lib. iii. cap. 2.

During

During these transactions, Nicholas, at the desire of the king of Servia, appointed inquisitors of the faith in Bosnia, against the heretics in that principality; and wrote to George, emperor, as he styled himself, of the Bulgarians, to invite him to an union with the Roman church. But his attention was chiefly engaged in opposing the Saracens, who had lately taken Ptolemais, or Acon, and entirely expelled the Christians from Asia. Upon receiving these melancholy tidings, he ordered a crusade to be preached every where, and earnestly exhorted the Christian princes to lay aside their mutual divisions, and to turn their arms against the infidels. He not only wrote to the western princes, but likewise to the emperors of Constantinople and Trebisond, to the king of the eastern Tartars, and to the kings of the Armenians, Iberians, and Georgians, soliciting them to give their assistance against the Saracens; and informing them, that Edward, king of England, had already taken the cross, and was to sail in a short time for Syria. He also prohibited, by a very severe edict, any one from carrying arms, timber, iron, or any other merchandise, into any other port belonging to the Saracens[i]. As the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, the two most powerful orders, harrassed each other with perpetual animosities and dissensions, he consulted with the emperor of Constantinople, the kings of England and France, and with the masters of the orders, and the bishops, about uniting the orders under one general, and under the same regulations. Councils were likewise ordered to be celebrated through the different provinces of Europe, in order to hasten the succours; but nothing was effected that year, on account of the death of the emperor Rodolphus, who had appeared the most forward to undertake the sacred expedition. A few months after, Nicholas received an embassy from the king of Armenia, imploring the assistance of the European princes against the Saracens: as the ambassadors had likewise letters to the kings of France and England, he sent them to those princes, with letters also from himself; but he died quickly after at Rome, on the 18th of April, and was buried in the church of St. Mary Major.

The Christians entirely expelled from Syria.

A.D. 1292.

Nicholas dies at Rome.

Upon the death of Nicholas, the cardinals went to Perugia to chuse a successor; but two Roman cardinals, of the families of the Orsini and Colonna, from their ancient

[i] Spond. Annal. Cont. Bell. Sacr. lib. v. cap. 5. Villan. lib. vii. cap. 144.

A.D. 1294. rivalship, divided the college into factions, and delayed the election for more than two years. At length cardinal Latinus, naming Peter di Murro, who lived a solitary life in a valley, near Sulmo, they unanimously chose him pope, on the 5th of July, and sent the archbishop of Lyons, with four other persons, to acquaint him with his promotion. He, with great reluctance, accepted of the papal dignity; but being prevailed upon by the intreaties of king Charles and his son, the king of Hungary, and many other persons, he mounted an ass, and set out for Aquila, in the kingdom of Naples, where he was consecrated, on the 28th of August, no less than two hundred thousand people being present on that occasion, according to the relation of Ptolemy, of Lucca, who was an eye-witness [k]. At his consecration he took the name of Celestine V, and having confirmed the order which he had lately instituted, he proceeded to Naples, where he created twelve cardinals, two of whom were monks of his own order, and some others, Frenchmen and friends of king Charles [l]. As he continued in his former manner of life, without assuming any thing of the splendor of a pope, and from his ignorance and simplicity conferred benefices on improper persons, and even granted the same things to different suitors, the cardinals quickly thought of deposing him. Benedict, cardinal Cajetan, in hopes of procuring the pontificate for himself, having great influence with Celestine, who was willing to abdicate, prevailed with him to hasten his resolution. Accordingly the pope, notwithstanding the opposition of king Charles and the people of Naples, on the 15th of December, made a decree for his own abdication, which having read to the cardinals, he immediately pulled off his pontifical ornaments, and laid them at their feet [m]. He is blamed by some authors for his abdication; but by others greatly extolled, especially by Alvarus and Petrarch [n] (Q).

Celestine V. is chosen pope.

He abdicates the dignity.

The

[k] Ptol. Luc. Hist. lib. xxiv. cap. 32. Vita Celest. V. apud Murator. Platina. [l] Spond. Annal. [m] Ciacon. in Celest. V. [n] Planet. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 11. Petrarch. de Vit. Solit. lib. ii. cap. 18.

(Q) During the pontificate of Celestine, the famous chapel of the Virgin Mary, called the house of Loretto, is said to have been transported by angels into Italy. According to the story, after the Saracens had made themselves entirely masters of Palestine, the pilgrims being denied access to the chapel at Nazareth, it was conducted, in the year 1291,

The cardinals having received a power to proceed to a new election, ten days after the abdication of Celestine, chose Benedict, who was born at Anagni, of the noble family of the Cajetans. He took the name of Boniface VIII. and on the third day after his election, annulled all the acts not yet executed, of Nicholas IV. and his predecessor Celestine, and revoked all the dispensations, indulgences, and bulls of reversion granted by them. This conduct created him a great many enemies, who accused him of arrogance and pride, and affirmed that he had acquired the pontificate by indirect and fraudulent means. To silence this clamour, he published a confession of his faith, which he presented at the altar of St. Peter, in which church he was consecrated, about the middle of January, in the presence of the kings of Sicily and Hungary, who, upon his return from the church, walked on both sides of his horse, which they held by the bridle.

Boniface VIII. elected pope.

As the legality of his election was greatly questioned, Boniface was afraid his enemies would oblige Celestine to re-assume the papal dignity; he therefore made diligent enquiry to find him out, while Celestine, on the other hand, as earnest to hide himself from the world, had thrice endeavoured to pass over into Dalmatia, but was prevented by the wind. Upon being discovered, he was

He imprisons Celestine.

1291, at midnight, into Dalmatia, and placed upon a little hill near the shore of the Adriatic. At the same time it was revealed to a curate in the neighbourhood, that it was the chapel of Nazareth; upon which the governor of Dalmatia sent four persons of note into Palestine, to enquire into the truth of his assertion, who, upon their return, confirmed the revelation of the curate. Three years afterwards, the angels transported the chapel into the March of Ancona again, at midnight, and placed it in a wood belonging to a religious lady. About eight months after, it was removed from the wood to a hill, about two miles distance, belonging to two brothers, who immediately quarrelled about the possession of the chapel; when it unexpectedly took another leap to the place where it now stands. Notwithstanding pope Boniface is quite silent with regard to this miracle, and it is never mentioned by Dante, Petrarch, St. Antonin, Vincent, Ferrier, or other authors of those times, nay, even though Vincent seems to mention the chapel as still in Nazareth, yet the story is firmly believed by many persons in the communion of the Roman church (1).

(1) Horace Tursellin Hist. Lauret. Spond. Annal.

carried back to the pope, who chid him in an arrogant manner for departing without his leave, and accepting of no excuse, confined him in a strong castle during his life [o]. He likewise confirmed his abdication by a bull, and prevailed with a monk of the order of St. Austin to write a learned apology in his defence, proving him a true and lawful pope [p].

After he had thus provided for his own security in his new dignity, he sent the bishops of Albano and Palestrina as his legates, to reconcile the kings of France and England; and being informed that the emperor Adolphus had accepted of a subsidy from the king of England to act against France, he sent two legates to him in Germany, to exhort him to desert that alliance, but without any effect at that time. He was more successful in concluding the peace betwixt the French and the Arragonians at Anagni; the king of Arragon promising to deliver up Sicily, and all he possessed in Italy, to the king of Naples, and to furnish forces against the Sicilians if they refused to submit. But these islanders, thinking it the worst of evils to be again subject to the government of the French, immediately chose Frederic, brother to the king of Arragon, for their king, Boniface in vain opposing this election by his nuncios, who were obliged to withdraw from the fury of the populace. The pope likewise resolving to procure peace in Italy, sent for the bishops and deputies from the republics of Venice and Genoa, then engaged in a ruinous war, and earnestly persuaded them to a reconciliation; but as their demands on both sides were extravagant, an accommodation could not be effected [q].

Concludes a peace betwixt the French and the Arragonians.

A.D. 1296. Next year Boniface again ordered his legates to exhort the kings of France and England to a reconciliation; and at the same time to appoint a truce to be observed by them on pain of excommunication. As Edward was engaged in a war with Scotland, he willingly accepted of the truce; but Philip having met with some successes, refused to comply with the orders of the legates, alleging, that the temporal government of his kingdom belonged to himself alone. To assert his right, he published an edict, forbidding all strangers, ecclesiastics not excepted, from entering his kingdom, or any Frenchman to go out without his express permission. Mean while Boniface, having re-

[o] Spond. Annal.
[p] Ægid de Renunciat. Pap. lib. i.
[q] Pollet Hist. Gen. lib. vi.

ceived

ceived great complaints against the king of England, for obliging his clergy by force to submit to a new tax, together with the rest of his subjects; and other princes being likewise accused of oppressing their clergy, he published a bull, prohibiting all kings, princes, or nobles, from raising any subsidy, or tax, under any pretence whatever, from ecclesiastics, or the ecclesiastics from giving what was demanded of them, without the permission of the pope, under the penalty of excommunication, both against the givers and the exactors [r]. But being informed of the edict of the king of France, he published another bull, somewhat more moderate, allowing, that sovereigns in great necessities of state had an authority to raise taxes, even upon ecclesiastics [s]. About this time we are informed by Spondanus [t], that Boniface confirmed the vicariate of Tuscany, granted by the emperor, to John de Cabilon; but the cities of Italy being desirous of shaking off the yoke of the empire, drew the pope into their party by a present of eighty thousand florins, who, in consequence of that sum, soon after persuaded the vicar to overlook the rights of the empire, by conferring the bishoprick of Liege upon his brother.

Publishes a bull for the immunity of the clergy.

He likewise began at this time to persecute the family of Colonna, in resentment of the opposition made to his election by two cardinals of that name, who had even published some libels against him, addressed to all Christian princes, accusing him of pride, ambition and avarice, and asserting, that none were obliged to obey him, as he was not a lawful pope. Boniface embraced the first opportunity of taking revenge. Stephen Colonna seizing and carrying off some of the sacred utensils, the pope cited him, and his brother and uncle, both cardinals, to appear and justify themselves at Rome. But they neglected the summons, and trusting to the power of their family, and the strength of the Gibeline faction, fortified themselves in Pilastrina. The pope being informed of their contempt, called a council of the cardinals and bishops who were then at Rome. There he deposed the two cardinals from their dignity and honour, deprived them of their benefices, confiscated the estates of their relations, and declared their adherents excommunicated. Soon after he ordered a crusade to be preached against them and their adherents, as schismatics, took some of their castles

A D. 1297.

He deposes two cardinals of the family of Colonna.

[r] Spond. Annal. & alii auctor. [s] Histor Disid. inter Bonif. & Philip. [t] Spond. Annal. ex auctor. Cod. MS.

and towns, which he pillaged and destroyed, and pursued them wherever he suspected they had fled [u] (R).

Publishes a bull in favour of the sacred college.

While he thus persecuted the two cardinals of the family of Colonna, that he might not excite the resentment of the rest of the college against him, he published a most severe bull, against any one that should injure a cardinal, adding some articles for the immunity of the clergy. He likewise canonized St. Lewis, late king of France; and expelled the regular canons from the Lateran church, upon account of the depravity of their manners, and neglect of discipline. Having also appointed James, king of Arragon, standard-bearer, general, and admiral of the church, upon his arrival at Rome, he crowned him king of Corsica and Sardinia, which two islands he granted him as fiefs of the see of Rome, under an annual tribute of two thousand marks sterling, and a certain number of ships and land-forces, according to the necessities of the church [w]. The design of the pope was to animate him against his brother Frederic, possessor of Sicily; accordingly James published an edict, ordering all the subjects of Castile and Arragon to quit Sicily, under pain of being accounted deserters and traitors [x]. He likewise solicited his brother to a conference in the island of Ischia near Naples, but without effect; however, his mother Constantia and sister Violante went thither, and accompanied him to Rome, together with John di Procida and Roger di Doria, the famous Sicilian admiral, who both deserted the party of

The king of Arragon is crowned king of Corsica and Sardinia at Rome.

[u] Villan. lib. viii. cap. 21. Blond. dec. ii. p. 334 & 335. Spond. Annal. [w] Surit. Indic. lib. ii. [x] Summont. Hist. Neap. lib. iii.

(R) Being informed, though falsely, that they had fled to Genoa, he testified his resentment by his behaviour to the archbishop of that city, who being at Rome on Ash-Wednesday, came with others, according to custom, and kneeled at his feet. Boniface, when he addressed himself to him, instead of using the common form, "Remember, man that thou art ashes, and to ashes shalt thou return;" said, "Remember man that thou art a Gibelline, and with the Gibellines to ashes shalt thou return;" and instead of crossing his head with the ashes, he threw them into his eyes. The same day he likewise deprived him of his archbishoprick; but being soon after informed that the banished cardinals had never been at Genoa, he restored him to his dignity (1).

(1) Blond. dec. ii. lib. 9. Platina in Vit. Bonif. & alii.

Frederic,

Frederic, on account of some affront they had received from him.

Mean while the princes of Germany, dissatisfied with the government of Adolphus, sent the count of Hohenberg to Rome, to procure the consent of the pope to the deposition of the emperor; but notwithstanding the count's solicitations and presents, Boniface would not agree to the desire of the electors; but declared to the ambassadors of Adolphus, that if he would come to Rome he would confer upon him the imperial crown. About the same time he sent the general master of the Dominicans, and the general minister of the Franciscans, to reconcile the kings of France and England, who prevailed with these princes to agree to a truce for two years, and to send deputies to the pope, who offered to negociate a peace, not as judge but as mediator [y]. Soon after he was informed, that the electors had deposed the emperor Adolphus; and that he was killed in the battle by his competitor Albert; which intelligence was quickly after confirmed by an embassy from Albert, desiring the confirmation of his election by the pope. Boniface refused the request of the ambassadors, and declared, that Albert ought to be accounted a traitor, for rebelling against his lawful sovereign. Mean while he applied himself to settle the articles of the treaty betwixt the kings of France and England, and the count of Flanders, the king of England's ally. He determined that the peace should be confirmed by a double alliance; namely, that the king of England and his son should marry, the one the sister, and the other the daughter of the king of France, who should likewise restore the cities, and the captive daughter of the count of Flanders. This last article greatly enraged king Philip, who declared that he would not observe it; and one of his nobles is said to have snatched the pope's letter from the hands of the archbishop of Rheims, to have torn it with his teeth, and to have thrown it into the fire. As this behaviour of the king, and the edict published by him three years before, tended to an open rupture with the pope, he concluded a treaty with the emperor Albert, which he strengthened by an alliance betwixt the emperor's son Rodolphus, and Blanch his own sister.

A D. 1298.

Boniface refuses to consent to the deposition of Adolphus.

A.D. 1299.

During these proceedings, Boniface ordered the king of England to set John Baliol, his prisoner, and king of Scotland, at liberty. He likewise ordained a truce to be

He disapproves of the king of England's invasion of Scotland.

[y] Walsingham. in Edw. I. Villan. lib. viii. cap. 20.

observed for two years between England and Scotland; and declared to Edward, that the kingdom of Scotland was not subject to England, but belonged to the Roman fee; he therefore required him to set the Scotch bishops and ecclesiastics, who had asserted the independency of their kingdom, at liberty; and if he thought he had any claim to Scotland, he desired him to send deputies to Rome, to justify his pretensions before the apostolic see [z]. Being informed that the king of Arragon, after some successes, had deserted Sicily, he wrote to him, reproaching him with neglecting his engagements; he likewise reproved the king of Naples for trusting the command of his armies to his sons, who were without experience; and having sent for Charles of Valois, the brother of the king of France, to command in Italy, he strictly prohibited the king of Naples in the mean time from entering into any accommodation with Frederic and the Sicilians.

A.D. 1300. *The first jubilee held at Rome.*

The following year being accounted the beginning of a new century, Boniface, says Spondamus, opened a short way to heaven, and published a bull, promising a full pardon and remission of all sins to those who, being confessed and penitent, should visit the churches of the apostles Peter and Paul for fifteen days. From this general indulgence he excepted those who traded with the Saracens; and likewise Frederic, the possessor of Sicily, with all those that adhered to him, especially the Genoese, whom, together with the cardinals of the family of Colonna, he excommunicated in the Lateran church on Good Friday. In consequence of this bull granted by the pope, such numbers of people of all conditions flocked from all parts of Europe to Rome, that, during the greatest part of the year, there were reckoned no less than two hundred thousand strangers in the city; and the author of the Chronicle of Parma declares, that the travellers on the Claudian road had the appearance every day of the march of a numerous army [a]. Notwithstanding this great concourse of foreigners in Italy and at Rome, Villani, who was an eye-witness, relates, that there was the greatest abundance of provisions, which never rose above the common price [b] (S).

During

[z] Spond. & Regest. Vatic. [a] Chron. Parm. apud Murator. lib. ix. p. 842. [b] Villan. lib. viii. cap. 36. Trithem. in Chron. Hirsang. Anton. tit. xx. cap. 8. sect. xi.

(S) This institution of Boniface afterwards got the name of Jubilee, and was kept up by his successors, who observed it

During these rejoicings at Rome, Boniface received an embassy from Casquus, king of the Tartars, informing him, that, together with the kings of Georgia and Armenia, he had marched with an army of two hundred thousand men into Syria, and had defeated the soltan of Egypt, and afterwards taken possession of Damascus; but upon hearing that his own kingdom was invaded, he had marched back with his army, and therefore intreated the pope and the princes of Europe to send succours into Syria to secure his conquests, before the Saracens should reinforce their army. This embassy caused great joy at Rome; but no succours were sent into Syria, the pope and the Christian princes, according to Villani and Antoninus, being too much employed in prosecuting their own private resentments, to mind the public welfare [c]. Boniface, however, prevailed with the king of Naples to permit a galley to be fitted out in Apulia, to carry back Guiscard, the Tartarian ambassador [d]. He likewise confirmed the edict of Charles against the Saracens of Lucera or Nocera, obliging them to receive baptism upon pain of death, in consequence of which the greatest part of them quitted Italy, a few of them only, who were afterwards called Marrani, chusing to receive baptism [e].

The Tartars defeat the Saracens in Palestine.

The pope likewise held a council at Rome to deliberate upon the affairs of the Holy Land, and sent persons to preach a crusade in the different provinces of Europe;

The pope orders a crusade to be preached.

[c] Haython. cap. 41. Villan. lib. viii. cap. 35. [d] Summont. lib. iii. cap. 2. [e] Blond. dec. ii. lib. 9. Collenut. lib. viii.

it every fifty years. But that Boniface may not be said to have first instituted it in imitation of the sæculum of the ancient Romans, or the jubilee of the Jews, Spondanus assures us, that the observation of this century indulgence was much more ancient than that pope; and, from a treatise of cardinal Cajetan, Boniface's nephew, concerning the jubilee, relates, that in the beginning of the year, the Romans, assembling of their own accord in crowds at the Vatican church, the pope, moved by their devotion, made diligent enquiry, and found an old man of a hundred and seven years of age, who remembered to have heard his father say, that he went to Rome upon the institution of a general indulgence in the year 1200. This relation being verified by two old men in France, and others in Italy, the pope confirmed the ancient institution by a bull, which he published on the 22d of February.

writing

writing also to Philip, king of France, exhorting him to take the cross. His exhortations with Philip had no effect; for that prince was animated against him, on account of his intermeddling in the dispute betwixt him and the king of England; he therefore afforded his protection to the banished cardinals, who were the occasion afterwards of widening the breach: however, at this time he allowed his brother Charles to raise the tithes that had been granted him by the pope for his journey into Italy. Boniface, in the mean time, received another embassy from the emperor Albert, desiring his election to be confirmed by the apostolic see; but he would not even give audience to the German ambassadors, and, appearing in public with a sword at his side, and dressed like a general, he affirmed that he himself was both emperor and pope [f].

A.D. 1301. Charles of Valois arriving at Anagni, accompanied by his wife, and a great body of French nobility, the pope received him with great affection, and created him governor of all the territories of the church, pacificator of Tuscany, and vicar of the empire. He likewise gave him hopes of raising him to the empire of Germany, which he then reckoned vacant; and even talked of conferring upon him the empire of Constantinople, in right of his wife, who was grand-daughter to Baldwin, the last Latin emperor. In the mean time he sent him to Florence, to compose the dissensions in that city, which was then divided into the factions of the Whites and the Blacks, who persecuted each other with as great animosity as the Guelphs and Gibelines had done formerly. These two factions arose some years before, from the discord among the descendents of the same family, which the Florentines at first endeavoured to quell, but insensibly were led to patronize; and the Whites becoming inferior, had recourse to the party of the Gibelines, which drew upon them the hatred of the pope. Charles, upon his arrival at Florence, instead of acting as an impartial mediator, fomented the discords; and, after five months residence, left the city more embroiled than he found it at his arrival [g].

He creates Charles of Valois vicar of the empire.

Difference betwixt the pope and the king of France.

Mean while Boniface sent the bishop of Pamiers as his legate to the king of France, to excite him to an expedition to Syria, and to prohibit him, under pain of excom-

[f] Spond. Annal. Baillet Demeles de Boniface, p. 69. [g] Villan. lib. x. cap. 48. Blond. ubi supra. Chron. Parmens.

munication,

munication, from appropriating the tythes raiſed for that purpoſe, from conferring vacant benefices without the conſent of the pope, and from retaining the revenues of vacant biſhopricks. As the legate, a few years before, had been created a biſhop by the pope, contrary to the inclination of the king, he executed his commiſſion with great indiſcretion and inſolence; and affirmed, that he was ſubject to none but the pope, both in ſpirituals and temporals. Philip, to repreſs his inſolence, called an aſſembly of the nobles and biſhops at Senlis; and producing ſeveral articles of accuſation againſt the legate, committed him as a priſoner to the archbiſhop of Narbonne, his metropolitan. Boniface, informed of the impriſonment of his legate, ſent a nuncio to order the king of France, in his name, to ſet him at liberty, and to deſiſt from oppreſſing the clergy, declaring, at the ſame time, that the pope was ſovereign of the whole world, both in temporals and ſpirituals, and to think otherwiſe was hereſy. The nuncio, likewiſe, had orders to ſummon the biſhops and doctors to a council, to be held the following year at Rome; and, if the king ſhould refuſe to ſet the legate at liberty, to abſolve his ſubjects from their allegiance, and declare the kingdom of France fallen to the apoſtolic ſee.

The bull was no ſooner produced, than the count of Artois ſnatched it from the nuncio, and threw it into the fire; and he, together with the legate, who was ſet at liberty, were ordered immediately to depart the kingdom. The king, likewiſe, called a parliament, and decreed, that no eccleſiaſtic ſhould go to Rome; and that no perſon ſhould carry any gold and ſilver out of the kingdom. Guards were alſo placed on the confines, to prevent any other letters from being brought from the pope. Peter Flota, one of the king's counſellors, was ſent to Rome to defend the rights of the king; who is ſaid to have behaved with great intrepidity; and, upon the pope's threatening the king with excommunication, to have replied, "Holy father, your ſword is only verbal, but that of my maſter is real." The church of Rome being expreſsly ſpecified in the prohibition for carrying gold and ſilver out of the kingdom, Boniface, on the 4th of December, publiſhed a ſuſpenſion of all the privileges and favours conferred on the kings of France by the apoſtolic ſee, and prohibited the eccleſiaſtics from paying any tythes or ſubſidy whatever, without the expreſs mandate of the ſame ſee; ordering, at the ſame time, the bulls, containing the

the aforesaid privileges and favours, to be laid before the future general council, to which he again summoned the clergy of France [h].

The bishops of Hungary excommunicate the pope.

During this dispute with the king of France, Boniface sent a legate into Hungary, to prevail with the nobles and bishops of that kingdom to chuse Carobert, the son of Charles Martel, for their king; but that kingdom being divided into factions, the most powerful party chose the son of the king of Bohemia; and the legate no sooner expressed his resentment at their proceeding, than they in their turn assembled, and excommunicated and banished the pope, and all his adherents [i]. A few months after Boniface received an embassy from France by three bishops, who brought letters to him from the bishops, nobles, and the king. The bishops declared their astonishment at his unheard-of proposition, of the dependency of France upon the apostolic see, and excused themselves from leaving the kingdom. The letter of the nobles was in French, and in a style much more severe than that of the bishops; and that of the king expressed his contempt of the pope, and his resentment for the injuries he had received. In answer to these letters the pope wrote to the king, protesting, that he never intended to usurp his jurisdiction; and if he would send noblemen of probity to Rome, he would revoke whatever they should think had been said or done to the prejudice of the rights of the king or kingdom of France. At the same time he insisted that the bishops should obey his summons to the council at Rome, under pain of being deposed and deprived of their benefices. Soon after he published a bull concerning the authority and power of the church, and the two swords granted to her by Christ; in answer to which several treatises were published in France concerning the papal and regal power, demonstrating, that the church had no authority in temporal affairs.

A.D.1302.

He receives an embassy from France.

A.D.1303.

Confirms the election of the emperor.

Mean while Boniface, being resolved to humble the king of France, at length consented to acknowlege the validity of the election of the emperor Albert, on condition that he renounced all treaties and alliances made with any princes to the prejudice of the holy see; that he took an oath of fidelity to the pope, and confirmed all the grants of his predecessors. During this negociation with the emperor, he sent another legate into France, with

[h] Demeles, ut supra. Spond. Annal. Vita Bonif. ap Murator.
[i] Bonfin. dec. ii. lib. ix.

twelve

twelve articles to be assented to and subscribed by the king; the chief of which were, that Philip should allow the ecclesiastics to come to Rome; that the conferring of benefices belonged to the pope, who had likewise an authority of sending nuncios or legates into any kingdom, without the request or consent of any one; that no layman had any authority of disposing of ecclesiastical revenues; that the supreme authority belonged to the apostolic see, which might impose a tythe or subsidy upon ecclesiastics, without the consent of any prince; that the king ought to appear by his proxy before the pope, to give satisfaction for the contempt of the apostolic see, in burning the bull sealed with the pictures of St. Peter and St. Paul; that the city of Lyons and its suburbs were not within the bounds of the kingdom of France; and that the spiritual sword ought to be restored to the clergy, notwithstanding any privileges of the king or his officers.

The king of France, to justify himself from the accusation of oppressing his clergy, published an edict for the reformation of his kingdom, by which he allowed all the ecclesiastics to enjoy the same privileges they were in possession of during the reign of St. Lewis; but he absolutely refused to sign the articles above mentioned. On which account the pope, having then concluded his treaty with the emperor, published a sentence of excommunication against Philip, and ordered the bishops of France to appear personally, or by their proxies, within three months, at Rome, under pain of deposition. Philip immediately called a parliament at Paris, in which assembly the nobles drew up a long accusation against Boniface, accusing him of divers heresies, of the death of Celestine, of intrusion into the apostolic see, of simony, sacrilege, magic, and other enormous crimes; and appealing to a future general council, they were joined in their appeal by the king and the bishops, with a salvo of the honour and reverence due to the Roman church, from which they had no intention to recede. The pope, who was then at Anagni, being informed of the proceedings of the parliament at Paris, cleared himself by oath of the crimes laid to his charge by that assembly; he then confirmed the censures against the king by another excommunication; he likewise laid his kingdom under an interdict, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, ordered the emperor to take possession of France, and excited the king of England and the Flemings to make war upon Philip.

The king of France is excommunicated.

Appeals to a general council.

Mean

Mean while, the cardinals Colonna being still in France, formed a scheme with William Nogaret, one of the counsellors of the king, of seizing upon the pope: they accordingly set out for Italy, and, arriving in Tuscany, Nogaret pretended that he came to treat of peace with the pope; but having some secret associates at Anagni, he privately hired three or four hundred French horse that had come into Italy with the count of Valois, who, assembling in the neighbourhood of Anagni, on the 7th of September, surprized the town, and immediately took possession of the pope's palace. Boniface, on the first alarm, was deserted by all the cardinals except two; and Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna entering his chamber, used him with great indignity, and threatened to carry him bound to Lyons, to be deposed by a general council. After they had detained him three days, and plundered all his treasures, which were immense, the citizens of Anagni, awaking from their surprise, expelled the French, and set the pope at liberty. Boniface, a few days after, returned under a strong guard to Rome; but the grief and vexation of his imprisonment made such an impression on his spirits, that he was seized with a fever, of which he died on the 12th of October, and was buried the next day in the church of St. Peter*.

Boniface is seized by the French and Colonna at Anagni, and dies of grief.

A few days after the death of Boniface the conclave assembled in the Vatican palace, and unanimously chose friar Nicholas Bocasini, bishop of Ostia (T), who took the name of Benedict, by some reckoned the Xth, but, by others the XIth of that name. Immediately after his election he cited Nogaret, Sciarra, and all those concerned in seizing Boniface, to appear at Rome; and soon

Benedict XI. is elected pope.

* Demele ut supra. Spond. Annal. Chron. Parmens. Villanius. See also the History of France.

(T) He was born at Treviso, of mean parentage, his father being a shepherd. At fourteen years of age he took the habit of a Dominican, and, by the several degrees of preferment, arose to the rank of general of the order. Upon his promotion to the pontificate, his mother came to visit him, richly dressed, by the presents she had received from the Roman ladies; on which account it is said, he pretended not to know her, affirming, that his mother was not a lady, but a poor washerwoman. But after she had laid aside her finery, and resumed her usual dress, he received her with great affection and respect.

after

after he received letters of congratulation from the emperor and the king of France. An embassy, likewise, arrived from the Tartars, intreating a reconciliation among the Christian princes, and succours to be sent into the Holy Land. About the same time Benedict also received a letter in the Chaldaic language from Insibraim, patriarch of the eastern Christians, acknowleging the pope to be the chief pastor and judge of all Christians, and the Roman church the mother of all other churches [l]. In the mean time, Italy being still harrassed by the opposite factions of the Guelphs and Gibelines, Benedict sent a legate into Tuscany to procure a general peace. The legate appointed new officers in Florence; but having proposed to recall the Gibelines and Whites who were banished, the opposite faction rose against him, and, in a violent manner, obliged him to desist. On account of this insult he laid the city under an interdict, and excommunicated the citizens, and then returned to the pope, who, by reason of the seditions at Rome, had gone to Perugia. While Benedict resided in that city, he absolved the king of France from the sentence of excommunication, and annulled all the acts of his predecessor against him, restoring likewise the cardinals of the Colonna family to the communion of the church, but not to their former dignity. He also endeavoured to reconcile the Venetians and Paduans; received homage from the king of Arragon for Sardinia and Corsica; sent a legate to compose the differences betwixt England and Scotland; and reproved Frederic, the possessor of Sicily, for not being contented with the title of king of Trinacria, according to the articles of the peace agreed to betwixt him and the king of Naples. At the same time he exhorted him to an expedition into the Holy Land; but while he was intent on animating the princes to a crusade, he died at Perugia on the 7th of July, not without suspicion of poison [m].

A.D. 1304.

He endeavours to reconcile the factions of Italy.

He dies at Perugia.

[l] Spond. ex Regest. Vatic. Platina. Will. Westmonast.

[m] Vita Benedict. ap. Murator.

SECT.

SECT. X.

Containing the Transactions of Fifty Years.

A.D. 1305. UPON the death of pope Benedict, the college of cardinals was divided into two parties, one endeavouring to chuse a pope that would confirm the acts of Boniface, the other intent upon having a pontiff that should be a friend to the king of France and the Colonna family. Each party persevered so obstinately in their purpose, that the papal see was vacant near ten months. At length they agreed that one party should name three Frenchmen that were not of the college, one of whom should be chosen pope by the other party within forty days after. According to this agreement, the party averse to the king of France, named three Frenchmen who were known to be his enemies. Philip, being informed of the nomination, by his friends, immediately sent for the archbishop of Bourdeaux, one of the candidates, to France, who, upon his arrival, offered to agree to the terms proposed by the king, on condition of his procuring for him the pontificate. Philip then proposed that he should give a fuller pardon for the violence committed against Boniface, whose memory he should condemn; that he should grant him the tythes of his kingdom for five years, and restore the cardinals of the Colonna family to their former dignity; which articles the archbishop swearing to perform, a messenger was dispatched to the cardinals at Perugia, who immediately declared the archbishop pope, and sent the decree of his election into France, intreating him to hasten his return into Italy. Upon receiving the decree of the college, he assumed the name of Clement V. and, sending for the cardinals to Lyons, he was consecrated in that city on the 14th of November, in the presence of the king of France, the dukes of Britanny, Burgundy, and Lorrain, and many other princes (A). Clement, immediately af-

The archbishop of Bourdeaux is elected pope, and takes the name of Clement the Fifth.

(A) The court of the pope, being thus translated to France, continued in that kingdom for more than seventy years, to the great detriment of Italy and Rome, in which city many of the churches fell to ruins by the absence and neglect of the priests. The Italians give the name of the Babylonish Captivity to this residence of the pope's court in France (1).

(1) Platina.

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ter his consecration, reconciled the king of France to the church in the fullest manner; and, in the Advent following, restored the cardinals of the Colonna family, and made a promotion of ten others, all of whom, except one, were Frenchmen [a].

Next year, he revoked the bulls of Boniface to the prejudice of the king of France, and granted him the tythes of his kingdom for five years. About the same time we find that he granted the tythes for two years to the king of England, for an expedition into the Holy Land; and afterwards he made the same concession in favour of other Christian princes, to assist them against the Moors and Turks, and, in general, all the enemies of the church. Having likewise created the bishop of Durham patriarch of Jerusalem, he ordered him to go to the emperor, and the kings of Hungary, Cyprus, and Armenia, to implore their assistance in recovering Palestine; and, as he thought it would be of service to the affairs of Syria that Constantinople were recovered from the Greeks, he desired the count of Valois to invade that empire, and not only assisted him with some supplies of money, but likewise prevailed with the Venetians to enter into an alliance with him, and to promise him the assistance of their fleet. A.D. 1306.

He revokes the bulls of Boniface against the king of France.

Being desirous of quieting the troubles of Italy, which, during the vacancy of the pontificate, had been harrassed by the party of the Guelphs, he sent two nuncios to the Florentines and Lucceſe, who, under the command of Robert, eldest son to the king of Naples, were besieging the Gibelines in Pistoia. The nuncios, in the name of the pope, ordered the Guelphs to desist from the siege, but their remonstrances had no effect upon the troops of Florence and Lucca; only Robert left the command of the army, and went to congratulate the pope. Clement, being informed of the obstinacy of Lucca and Florence, appointed cardinal Neapoleo Ursini, a Roman of great reputation, as his legate over all Italy and the adjacent islands, with a most ample commission. But as Neapoleo seemed inclined to favour the Gibelines, and the Albi or Whites, the Florentines refused to admit him into their city; and he was expelled from Bologna at the hazard of his life, with the loss of all his furniture and baggage; on which account he not only laid that city under a sentence of excommunication and interdict, but also deprived it of the privilege of teaching, whereupon the greatest

Sends a legate into Italy, to quiet the troubles in that kingdom.

[a] Vit. Clement. ap. Murator. Spond. Annal. Platina.

part of the professors went and fixed their residence at Padua [b].

A.D.1307. During these transactions, Clement went with his court to Bourdeaux, where he suspended the archbishop of Canterbury, who was accused by the king of raising disturbances in England, while he himself was absent in Flanders. After residing several months at Bourdeaux, the pope went to Poictiers, to reconcile the kings of France and England; and as Charles of Valois and the Venetians were now prepared for attacking the empire of Constantinople, he excommunicated the emperor Andronicus, as the encourager of the Greek schism and heresy. Being likewise very earnest to recover the Holy Land, he published a severe edict, prohibiting the Christians from furnishing the Saracens with arms or military stores. About the same time, frier Haythonius, a relation of the king of Armenia, coming to Poictiers, Clement received him with great affection; and, desiring him to declare his opinion of an expedition into Syria, he dictated a treatise of the affairs of Armenia, which was wrote by Nicolas Salco. He proved that the present time was the most proper, for attacking the Saracens, because the Christian princes were not involved in war, whereas the Saracens were then engaged in civil dissensions, being likewise greatly weakened by the king of the Tartars, who still professed Christianity, and offered all the assistance in his power against the infidels [c].

He excommunicates the Greek emperor.

He creates bishops in Great Tartary;

Notwithstanding the arguments of Haythonius, and the intreaties of the pope, the princes of Europe could not be prevailed upon to engage in a new crusade. Clement, nevertheless, being informed of the great success of frier John de Monte Corvino, who eighteen years before had been sent by Nicolas IV. as legate into Ethiopia, India, and Tartary, he ordered seven Franciscans to be consecrated bishops, and sent into Tartary, that they might consecrate the legate archbishop of Cambalu, in the kingdom of Kathay, and continue in that kingdom as his suffragans. He likewise wrote to the great khân, exhorting him to embrace the Christian faith, and thanking him for his kindness to the proselytes of that religion [d]. About the same time he received a visit from the king of France, who intreated him, according to his oath, to condemn the memory of Boniface the Eighth, and to or-

[b] Villan. lib. viii. cap. 82. & 85. Anton. tit. 20. cap. 9. §. 2. & tit. 21. cap. 1. [c] Hathon. cap. 55. Sanut lib. iii. par. 15. [d] Warding. Annal. Minor. tom. 3. 1305. & 1307.

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der his bones to be thrown into the fire, as those of a heretic. Clement had no intention of fulfilling this part of his oath; but, that he might not give offence to the king, he declared to him, that Boniface could not be condemned without at the same time annulling the promotion of all those cardinals that had been made by him. He observed besides, that, except in a general council, a pope could not be lawfully accused or convicted, but he promised to summon one for that purpose [e].

and suppresses the order of the Templars.

The king, resting satisfied with this answer, transacted another affair with the pope, which at that time made a great noise in Europe. This was the extirpation of the Knights Templars, who were accused of horrid impieties, the discovery of which was owing to one of their order, who was imprisoned at Paris for some capital offence. He, in hopes of saving his life, informed the king of the wickedness authorized and practised by the order to which he belonged. Philip, at this conference, acquainting the pope with the discovery made by the criminal, obtained leave from his holiness to seize upon all the Templars in his kingdom, who were accordingly apprehended on the 10th of October, orders having been sent to the magistrates of all the cities to be ready with a body of troops to execute, the following night, an order contained in another letter, then only to be opened. Clement in the mean time wrote to all the bishops of Christendom, ordering them to make inquisition into the crimes of which the Templars were accused. He gave them to understand, that, having received repeated accusations of that order, he had sent for a knight of eminent nobility and authority, who had secretly confessed upon his oath, that, upon receiving any one into their order, they obliged the initiated person to spit upon the cross, and to deny Christ, and that many other horrid crimes were allowed of, and generally practised, by the order. Upwards of seventy other knights having made the same voluntary confession, Clement ordered the possessions of all the Templars to be confiscated, published a bull for the suppression of the order; and wrote to the ordinaries and inquisitors of the different provinces to imprison the Templars, and to make inquisition into their crimes. He likewise sent two cardinals to Paris, who, publishing the bull against the order, condemned those Templars, who had made the voluntary confession, to be burnt by a slow

[e] Villan. lib. viii. cap. 91. Anton. tit. 21. cap. 1. sect. 2.

fire. The criminals recanted their former confessions, but acknowleged themselves worthy of death, because they had unjustly accused the order of crimes of which they were innocent. Several authors of those times wrote in defence of the order; and Boccace alleges, that its extirpation was owing to the avarice of the king of France, who coveted the rich possessions the Templars then enjoyed in France[f] (B). About the same time Clement sent a legate with an army against one Dulcinus, a leader of a sect of heretics, whose chief tenets were, that all things were common; that the pope and the bishops were not true pastors, because they did not live an evangelical life; and that whatever action was done from charity was free from sin. After pursuing the heretics in the Alps, the legate at last dispersed them, and seized Dulcinus and some others, who were burnt at Vercelli.

A.D 1308. The emperor Albert being murdered by his nephew, Clement was informed that the king of France intended to solicit him to transfer the imperial dignity to France, or to procure it for his brother Charles, according to the intention of Boniface. The pope, to free himself from the embarrassing alternative of either disobliging the king of France, or offending the Germans, secretly informed the electors of the intentions of Philip, and advised them to proceed to an election without delay, before he should have time to negotiate the affair. The electors followed his advice; and, according to his recommendation, on the 27th of November, chose Henry duke of Luxem-

He is solicited to transfer the empire to France.

[f] P. Puteanus, Gaguin. lib. vii. Hist. Franc. Contil. Bell. Sacr. lib. v. cap. 13. Villan. lib. viii. cap. 92. Anton. ut supra. Blond. D. ii. lib. ix. Spond. Annal. Boccac. de Casibus Vir. illustr.

(B) The crimes of which they were accused were said to have been first introduced among them about forty years before their extirpation, by one of their masters, who, having been taken prisoner by the soltan, could not obtain his liberty on any other condition. But the corruption of the order may be justly attributed to the immense wealth of which it was possessed, which gave an opportunity to its members to indulge in all manner of luxury and vice; for, instead of distinguishing themselves, as at their first institution, by their military exploits, they were then only remarkable for their arrogance and intemperance, so that it became a proverbial reproach against any one who wasted his time in gluttony and drunkenness, to say, that he drank like a Templar.

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burgh for emperor, while the king of France was on the road to Poictiers, to solicit the interest of the pope [g]. Clement in the mean time proposing to remove his court to Avignon, a city in Provence, under the dominion of the king of Sicily, he allowed his attendants then to disperse, but ordered them to assemble at Avignon about the middle of January, in the following year. Soon after his arrival at that city, being informed that the Venetians had taken possession of Ferrara, belonging to the church, he excommunicated them in a grand possession, deprived them of all commerce with other states, and granted all their dominions to any one who should be able and willing to seize upon them [h]. He received likewise an embassy from the emperor, desiring the confirmation of his election, and swearing fidelity to the apostolic see. He granted the request of the ambassadors, on condition that the emperor should come to Rome within two years, to receive the Imperial crown; and as a mark of his respect for Henry, he sent two cardinals into Germany, to accompany him in that journey. The Venetians, still keeping possession of Ferrara, he sent his relation Arnald de Pelagria, a cardinal deacon against them, with an army of French crusaders, who, having entered into an alliance with Bologna, Florence, and the cities of Lombardy, defeated the Venetians near the Po, and recovered the city of Ferrara. In consideration of the assistance which the cities of Florence and Bologna gave to his legate, Clement absolved them from the sentence of excommunication and interdict which had been denounced against them by Neapoleo Ursini.

A.D. 1309.

He confirms the election of the duke of Luxemburgh.

About the same time Charles, king of Naples dying, Clement, upon receiving the homage of Robert, the king's eldest surviving son, crowned him king of both Sicilies at Avignon, on the 8th of September, setting aside Charabert, the king of Hungary, who pretended to the crown of Sicily in right of his father Charles Martel, Robert's elder brother. Robert, upon receiving the investiture of his father's dominions, declaring his desire to undertake a sacred expedition, the pope created him general vicar of the patrimony of the church in Italy, and count of Romaniola; he likewise remitted the debt which his father had contracted to the apostolic see during his war

Gives the investiture of Sicily to Robert, the son of king Charles;

[g] Villan. lib. viii. cap. 101. Anton. See the History of the Empire of France. hoc anno.

[h] Vita Clem. ap. Murator, Bzov.

againſt the Sicilians; but he renewed the obligation to pay the annual tribute of eight thouſand ounces of gold, as an acknowlegement of his fief [i].

A.D. 1310. Soon after, at the inſtance of the king of France, he publiſhed a monitorium in the conſiſtory, that all perſons, who had any thing to propoſe for or againſt the late pope Boniface, ſhould appear at Avignon before the middle of Lent, after which time no accuſation would be heard. This citation being paſted up in public places, William Nogaret, who had ſeized the pope, and William Pleſſianus, the author of the appeal to a general council, renewed their accuſations againſt Boniface, whoſe character was defended by one of the cardinals with great warmth. The accuſation of Boniface gave offence to ſeveral Chriſtian princes, particularly to the kings of Caſtile and Arragon, who ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, deſiring him to put a ſtop to the proceedings againſt the memory of that pontiff. Beſides, as both parties appeared at the conſiſtory with numerous attendants, ſome tumult was apprehended. Clement, therefore, prevailed with the king of France not to inſiſt upon the preſent trial, but to refer the determination of the whole affair to the pope and his council of cardinals. Having accordingly received a letter from Philip, ſignifying his conſent, he publiſhed a bull, nullifying and declaring void all that had been tranſacted betwixt Boniface and the king of France ſince the beginning of the century, commanding all writings on that ſubject to be eraſed from the regiſters of the Roman ſee, and to be expunged from all books and tablets, prohibiting any one, under pain of excommunication, from retaining or concealing any originals or copies of the writings on that ſubject [k]. From the general pardon granted to all perſons concerned in the late diſpute, Clement excepted William Nogaret, Sciarra Colonna, the citizens of Anagni, and thoſe who were concerned in plundering the treaſure of the church. He likewiſe declared Boniface a catholic, free from all hereſy, and a true pope. Soon after, upon the penitent ſubmiſſion of Nogaret, he abſolved him from all cenſures that he had incurred, on condition that he ſhould tranſport himſelf for life with arms and horſes into the Holy Land, at the firſt general expedition thither; and in the mean time ſhould undertake a pilgrimage to St. James of Compoſtella, and ſeveral other ſacred places. About this period,

and annuls all the acts of Boniface againſt the king of France.

[i] Villan. Vit. Clem. ut ſupra. Spond. Annal.

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he received an embaſſy from the Venetians, begging an abſolution of the eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and offering to make reparation for the damages they had done to the territories of the church. Clement delayed granting their requeſt; and, being reſolved to put off the meeting of the general council, which, according to the citation, was to aſſemble in October, he publiſhed letters addreſſed to all the prelates, ordering them to aſſemble at Vienne in Dauphiné, on the 1ſt of October, of the following year[1]. Mean while the Knights Hoſpitallers, who, upon the loſs of Paleſtine, had retired to Cyprus, having for two years attacked the Turks in the iſland of Rhodes, at length expelled the infidels, and made themſelves maſters of the iſland, which had before been granted to them by Andronicus, the emperor of Conſtantinople.

Rhodes taken from the Turks by the knights Hoſpitallers.

About the ſame time the emperor Henry, according to his agreement with the pope, and at the intreaty of the Gibelines, aſſembled a conſiderable army, and ſet out for Italy. Upon his arrival at Lauſanne, he ſent commiſſaries to his holineſs, who renewed the oath of fidelity, and confirmed, in the name of their maſter, the donations of former emperors to the Roman church. From Lauſanne he advanced, in the month of November, to Turin, where he was joined by the militia of ſeveral Italian cities, particularly of Pavia, Vercelli, and Lodi, the chief of the faction of the Guelphs, who were then greatly pleaſed with his conduct, as he refuſed to hearken to ſome accuſation of the Gibellines, declaring that he had no party in Lombardy, but came to receive homage for the whole. The Guelphs likewiſe then adviſed him not to reſtore any of the exiles till after his coronation; but he followed the advice of the Germans, and reſtored the Gibellines at Hiericuri. At Aſti having heard the diſpute betwixt the marquiſſes of Saluzzo and Montferrat, about the territory of Montferrat, he decided in favour of the latter, which ſentence greatly offended the Gibellines. Henry ſoon after marched to Milan, where he kept his Chriſtmas, and ſurpriſed the Italians with his moderation, as he allowed Guido Turriceno, the chief of the Guelphs, and his enemy, ſtill to reſide in the common palace. A few days after he concluded a peace between him and the family of the Viconti; and, on the 6th of January, receiving the iron crown from the hands of the archbiſhop; he afterwards reſtored many of the

The emperor enters Italy with an army;

A D. 1311.

is crowned at Milan.

[1] Spond. Annal.

Guelph and Gibelline exiles in several cities of Lombardy. This calm was of very short continuance; for, a violent sedition arising in Milan, the emperor was in great hazard of his life, and, with great difficulty and much bloodshed, quelled the tumult. Upon the news of this sedition, the faction of the Guelphs openly revolted from the emperor; expelled his vicars from their cities, and entered into an alliance with Robert, king of Sicily, to prevent his journey to Rome[m].

A.D. 1312. Clement in the mean time wrote to the cities of Italy, to receive the emperor with honour, and gave a commission to five cardinals to crown him at Rome, he himself being engaged to attend the general council at Vienne. He soon after went thither with the cardinals, and the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and opened the council, at which were present, according to Villanius and Antoninus, upwards of three hundred archbishops and bishops, though others say only a hundred and fourteen, and a great number of other prelates and abbots. The first session was held on the 16th of October, when it was determined that a crusade should be preached all over Christendom. The king of France was present at the second session, which was held the following year in the month of April, and in which the council approved of the suppression of the order of Templars, and agreed that all their possessions should be given to the Knights Hospitallers, now called the Knights of Rhodes[n]. But their possessions in Castile, Arragon, Portugal, and Majorca, were given to other orders of knights in those kingdoms, who were employed against the Moors. The king of France likewise obtained from the council the tithes of his kingdom for six years, having engaged to take the cross within that time, and obliged his son, in case of his death, to fulfil his vow. In the third session, which was held on the 7th of May, several canons were ordained against heretics, and for the reformation of manners; after which Clement dismissed the council[o]. The pope likewise confirmed the decree of Gregory X. concerning the election of a bishop of Rome. At the solicitation of Raymund Lully, who was present at the council, he ordained, that the Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldaic, and Greek languages, should be publicly taught at Paris, Ox-

The pope holds a general council at Vienne

[m] Iter Italic. Hen. VII. apud Murator. lib. ix. Hist. Luxemb. lib. xlvi. Blond. dec. ii. lib. ix. Continuat. Nangii.

[n] Bosius, Histor. Hospital. tom. ii. lib. i.

[o] Spond. Annal.

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ford, Bologna, and Salamanca, and wherever the pope ſhould keep his court; and that the books in thoſe languages ſhould be faithfully tranſlated into the Latin tongue.

The emperor is crowned at Rome.

Mean while the emperor Henry, notwithſtanding the great oppoſition of the Guelphs, and of Robert, king of Sicily, having marched with his army to Rome, took poſſeſſion of part of the city on the north ſide of the Tiber, the greateſt part being ſtill in poſſeſſion of the Guelphs, headed by the family of the Urſini, and ſupported by John, prince of the Morea, brother of the king of Sicily. As the oppoſite faction were in poſſeſſion of St. Peter's church, the emperor made ſeveral attempts to expel them, but, after ſkirmiſhing in vain for two months, a meſſenger was ſent to the pope, to obtain the conſent of his holineſs that the ceremony ſhould be performed in the Lateran church. The time for the return of the meſſenger being elapſed, and the tumults ſtill increaſing in the city, the cardinals were prevailed upon, by the intreaties of the emperor, to perform the ceremony without waiting for the pope's conſent. Accordingly, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, the three cardinals who ſurvived, having received a new oath of fidelity from Henry, conferred upon him the imperial crown. Immediately after his coronation, the emperor ſent ambaſſadors to Frederic, king of Trinacria or Sicily, and entered into an alliance with him againſt Robert, king of Naples, whom he intended to attack in return for the aſſiſtance that he had given to the faction of the Guelphs in Rome and in Tuſcany. But the Germans inſiſting upon returning into their own country, he marched with his army to Tivoli, from whence the duke of Bavaria, and ſeveral nobles, with their troops, ſet out for Germany. After their departure, the meſſenger arrived from the pope, with the permiſſion to crown the emperor, at the ſame time ordering a new oath to be taken by him, and likewiſe commanding him to agree to a truce with the king of Naples for a year. Henry refuſed to take the oath, as he was already crowned; and, by the advice of his counſellors, he affirmed, that the pope, neither by the canon or civil law, had any power to command a truce betwixt the emperor and his vaſſal. However, from his regard to the pope, he promiſed not to attack the king of Naples for a twelvemonth. After a ſecond journey to Rome, to quell the diſturbances raiſed by the prince of Morea, he marched with his army towards Perugia, and from thence

thence to Florence, the territories of which city he ravaged [p].

A.D.1313. While the emperor was thus punishing the perfidy and ingratitude of the Guelphs in Italy, Clement wrote to Frederic, king of Trinacria, and Philip, prince of Tarento, desiring them to assist the emperor Andronicus against the Turks, and, for that purpose, he granted them the tithes of all the ecclesiastical revenues in their dominions: to all those likewise who would engage in that war, he granted the same indulgences as the crusaders had formerly enjoyed. Being informed of the dissensions betwixt the king and the barons of England, he sent two legates into that kingdom to reconcile the contending parties. But the barons refusing to receive the pope's letter, or accept of their mediation, they were obliged to quit the kingdom. Soon after Clement received from the emperor a copy of his sentence against the king of Naples; Henry had declared him an enemy of the empire, and guilty of treason, and therefore deprived him of all authority, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. This step of the emperor, was not agreeable to the pope; however, he did not then openly condemn it, but declared that he would consider of the affair. The great preparations of the emperor, then at Pisa, and of Frederic of Sicily, equally alarming the kings of Naples and France, Clement was prevailed upon, by the solicitation of Philip the Fair, to publish a bull, prohibiting any one, under pain of excommunication, from attacking the kingdom of Naples by land or by sea, under any pretext. However, Henry, being privately assured by the pope that he would not be displeased at his conquest of Naples, he continued his preparations, and marched towards Gaeta, where he was to be joined by Frederic; but, being seized with a violent fever, he died on his road at Bonconvento, and was buried at Pisa [q] (C). Upon the death of the empe-

The pope grants indulgences to those who would engage against the Turks.

The emperor dies at Bonconvento.

[p] Iter Ital. ut supra.

[q] Iter Ital. ut supra, Ferret. Vicent. Hist. ap. Murator. tom. ix. p. 1112, &c.

(C) Several historians of Italy expressly declare that the emperor was poisoned by a consecrated wafer administered to him in the sacrament, by Bernardino da Montepulceano, a Dominican friar, hired for this purpose by the Florentines and others of the Guelf faction (1).

(1) Vid. Giovann. du Bazano. Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xv. col. 573.

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ror, Clement, considering that the intended expedition against Naples would not take effect, published a bull, condemning the sentence of the emperor against the king of Sicily, because that kingdom was a fief of the apostolic see, and Robert had been condemned in his absence, without a fair trial[r]. He likewise created Robert, vicar of the empire in Italy, and senator of Rome; and, being informed that Frederic had seized Reggio, he excommunicated all those who should attack the kingdom of Puglia. About the same time he sent a legate to Paris about the affairs of the Holy Land, who gave the cross to the kings of France, England, and Navarre, and to many other nobles then assembled in that city. Soon after, being seized with a dysentery and a complication of distempers, he proposed to go for his health to his native air of Bourdeaux; but he died on the road in the following year, on the 19th of April. A.D. 1314. *Clement dies upon the road to Bourdeaux.*

A dissension arose among the cardinals about electing a successor; those of Guienne, or Gascony, desiring one of their own country to be chosen pope, while the other French cardinals, together with the Italians, wanted to elect another. After the contest had continued several months, the Gascons, to oblige the other party to desist from their opposition, set fire to the conclave; an expedient which had a greater effect than they intended, and burnt a great part of the city. This calamity obliging them to separate, they dispersed into different cities, and delayed assembling again for more than two years, notwithstanding the intreaties of several princes and bishops. Mean while hostilities still continued between the two factions in Italy. The Pisans, being afraid of the resentment of the Guelphs, on account of their attachment to the late emperor, took into their pay all the Germans that chose to continue in Tuscany, and, by their assistance, made themselves masters of the rich and populous city of Lucca, where they seized the treasure of the Roman church, to the value of one million of florins of gold[s], which was deposited there in a monastery, those who had the charge of it being afraid to proceed to Avignon, on account of the depredations of both the factions. In Lombardy, Guido Turriano, being assisted by Robert, king of Sicily, defeated the troops of the Viconti, which victory occasioned Guido's brother, the archbishop, to be *A dissension in the conclave.*

[r] Spond. Annal. [s] Albert. Mussat. de Gest. Ital. ap. Murator. tom. x. Ferret. Vicent. ut supra.

expelled

expelled from Milan, by Maffeo Viconti, who, though almoſt ſeventy years of age, deſpiſed the ſentence of excommunication denounced againſt him by the archbiſhop, and aſſumed the title of prince of Milan.

A.D. 1315. About this period, the ſect of Lollards began to appear in Auſtria and the neighbouring countries, taking their name from one Walter Lolhard, whoſe doctrines they followed. They held that maſs, baptiſm, and extreme unction, were uſeleſs ceremonies; that the Virgin Mary, after ſhe was a mother, was not a virgin; that the real preſence in the ſacrament was a falſhood; that it was lawful to eat fleſh on any day; that the Roman church was not the church of Chriſt; that the merits and interceſſion of ſaints ought to be deſpiſed, and likewiſe the obſervation of holidays and canons of the church; that perjury was no ſin; that the devils would be re-admitted into heaven, and Michael and other angels thruſt down to hell; that God did not puniſh any crimes that were committed under the earth; from whence they are accuſed of committing all manner of wickedneſs in caverns underground. Theſe and ſeveral other ſuch tenets they are ſaid to have profeſſed with ſuch obſtinacy, as to have ſuffered death rather than forſake them [t].

The ſect of Lollards appears in Germany.

The cardinals ſtill continuing diſperſed in different places, and, notwithſtanding the ſolicitation of Lewis, king of France, delaying to proceed to an election, that prince ſent his brother Philip, count of Poictiers, to Lyons, who prevailed with them ſingly to come to that city, under

A.D. 1316. pretence of a negotiation, and, upon their arrival, ſhut them up in a convent of Dominicans, threatening them with confinement till they had finiſhed the election. After they had been confined forty days, they at laſt came to an agreement to receive him as pope who ſhould be named by the biſhop of Porto. That cardinal, at the perſuaſion of Neapoleo Urſini, named himſelf; and, his brethren giving their conſent, he aſſumed the name of John, by ſome reckoned the XXth, by others the XXIſt, but commonly called the XXIId, of that name [u]. He was conſecrated in the cathedral church of that city, on the 9th of September, and immediately fixed the reſidence of his court

The cardinals confined in Lyons. John XXII. choſen pope.

[t] Spond. Annal. Trithem. in Chron. hoc an. Hoeſem. de Geſt Pontif. Leodicus. lib. ix. cap. 79.

[u] Vita Joan. apud Murator. Villan

at Avignon (C). The news of his election reaching Germany, he soon after received an embassy from Lewis, duke of Bavaria, and Frederic, duke of Austria, both competitors for the empire, each demanding a confirmation of his election by the apostolic see. John delayed declaring in favour of either, under pretence of considering which of them had the preferable right. At the same time he annulled the election of John, the king of Arragon's son, to the bishoprick of Tarragona, but translated thither the bishop of Saragossa.

He receives an embassy from the competitors for the empire.

Next year, taking the advantage of the civil dissensions in Germany, he resolved effectually to crush the Gibellines in Italy, and to confirm the usurpations of his predecessor Clement upon the rights of the empire. He therefore published the constitutions of Clement, and appointed schools where they should be read and explained. Among these constitutions, some asserted, that the emperors were vassals of the holy see; and that the oath taken by them at their coronation was not only a promise of defending the church and the pope, but an oath of allegiance and homage; and that, during an interregnum, it belonged to the pope to dispose absolutely of all affairs of the empire, not only as superior of the empire, but from the plenitude of his power, which he possessed as successor of St. Peter and vicar of Christ[w]. To confirm these claims of his predecessor, on the 31st of March he published a bull, declaring, that, as the empire was vacant, the administration of it, both by right and custom, belonged to the pope; he therefore prohibited, under pain of excommunication and interdict, any one, of what dignity soever, from assuming the title of vicar of the empire, without the leave of the apostolic see. At the same time he granted the vicariate of the empire in Italy to Robert, king of Naples, till the coronation of the empe-

A.D. 1317.

He claims the administration of the empire during the interregnum;

[w] Spond. Annal. ad an. 1313.

(C) John XXII. was formerly called James de Osa, and was born at Cahors in France. He was the son of a taylor, but, distinguishing himself in his youth in the service of the archbishop of Arles, chancellor of the king of Sicily in Provence; by his assistance he found means to accomplish his studies, and procured the bishoprick of Frejus. He afterwards succeeded him as chancellor, was created bishop of Avignon, then cardinal bishop of Porto, and, when he was chosen pope, he was upwards of seventy years of age.

ror,

ror, and cited the two competitors to juſtify their claims before the apoſtolic ſee. By this bull the pope hoped to ruin the power of Maffeo Viconti at Milan, Canis Scaliger at Verona, Paſſerini Bonacoſſi at Mantua, and other chiefs of the Gibellines in other places of Italy, who, in their ſeveral territories, aſſumed the title of vicars of the empire, and generally favoured the intereſt of Lewis, duke of Bavaria. John, likewiſe about the ſame time erected ſeveral new biſhopricks in France, by dividing ſeveral dioceſes. At the requeſt of the king of Arragon, he created a new order of knights, under the title of St. Mary and St. George, and conferred upon them the revenues of the Knights Templars in Valentia. This ſame year alſo he made inquiry into the accuſations of ſeveral perſons who were ſaid to have conſpired againſt his life, and the whole college of cardinals. Among the conſpirators was found, Hugh, biſhop of Cahors, who, after his conviction and degradation, was delivered over to the ſecular magiſtrates, by whoſe ſentence he was firſt partly flayed, and afterwards burnt alive [x]. The pope then publiſhed ſeveral bulls againſt necromancy, and thoſe who practiſed magical arts. Being informed of great diſturbances in England, he ſent two legates into that kingdom to compoſe the diſſenſions, and to receive the tax of St. Peter, and the oath of homage for the kingdoms of England and Ireland, which had been formerly given to Innocent III. The legates were alſo commiſſioned to ſettle the diſputes with Scotland; and carried letters from the pope to Robert Bruce, who was only ſtyled governor of Scotland. Robert at firſt refuſed to allow the legates to enter his kingdom; but afterwards, ſending for them, he declared, that he would neither treat of peace nor a truce with England, unleſs he had the title of king from the pope. Upon receiving this declaration from the king, the cardinals returned to London; and Robert ſtill refuſing to agree to a peace, they excommunicated him and all his adherents, and laid the kingdom under an interdict [y].

and ſends two legates into Britain.

A.D. 1318. Soon after the pope publiſhed a bull againſt a ſect of Franciſcans, who had propoſed to live up to the rigour of the rules compoſed by St. Francis, neglecting the diſpenſation of thoſe rules by the popes Nicolas III. and Clement V. They were not only accuſed of being ſchiſmatics, but alſo of being heretics; and were ſaid to have aſſerted, that there were two churches, one carnal, abound-

He condemns a ſect of Franciſcans.

[x] Vita Joan. ut ſupra. [y] Spond. Annal. ex Regiſt. Vatic.

ing

ing in wealth and wickedness, at the head of which was the pope and prelates; the other spiritual, adorned with poverty and sanctity, in which they and their followers were included; that an oath at all times was unlawful; that the Gospel of Christ, till they appeared, lay hid, and was even lost; with several other tenets. In consequence of the pope's bull, these friars were persecuted in Sicily, and four of them were burnt at Marseilles. However, they were protected in some places of Italy, and especially at Milan, by Maffeo, or Matthew Viconti, who was himself accused of being a heretic, and believing erroneously of the resurrection of the dead, and some other articles, of plundering monasteries, violating the chastity of nuns, and checking the office of the inquisition; on which account the pope renewed the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him and his followers by his archbishop. Maffeo, in resentment of this treatment, prevailed with Canis Scaliger, Passerini, and other chiefs of the Gibellines, to form a league against the pope and his party, and appointed Canis general of the alliance, who attacked several cities of the Guelphs, while Maffeo sent an army, commanded by his son, against Genoa. In consequence of this league, hostilities were renewed in Italy with great fury; and Genoa and its territory, for several years, were so exposed to the ravaging of both friends and foes, that, according to Petrarch, its shore, which was formerly covered with palaces, appeared a desert [z]. In the mean time the pope, being informed that several cities in the ecclesiastical state, encouraged by the league of the Gibellines, had expelled the governors appointed by him, and had chosen others, he published a severe edict against them, and likewise excommunicated the family of Este, who had accepted the government of Ferrara.

A league formed against him by the Gibellines in Italy.

In the course of the following year he sent his nephew cardinal Bertrand, as legate, into Lombardy, to assist the Guelphs against the Gibelline faction: and being informed that the sect of the Waldenses began again to appear in France, he ordered those convicted of that heresy to be delivered to the secular magistrate. He renewed the edicts of his predecessors against the Jews, and ordered the books of their Talmud to be sought out and burnt. He likewise granted a power to some bishops of Denmark of taking off the interdict which Boniface VIII. had laid upon that kingdom, on account of the imprisonment of the archbishop

A D. 1319.

He sends a legate into Italy.

z Verba Petrarch. ap. Blond. dec. ii. lib. ix.

of

A.D. 1320. of Lunden. Mean while, finding that his spiritual arms had no effect upon the Gibellines in Italy, he sent Philip of Valois, son of Charles, and cousin of the king of France, with a body of French troops into Lombardy, against Maffeo. Philip, upon his arrival at Asti, was joined by the legate with some horse, and marched from thence to relieve Vercelli; but, being opposed by a superior army of the Gibellines, he was obliged to halt; and, having a conference with Galeatius, Maffeo's eldest son, he was persuaded by him to return to France, excusing himself to his father and the king, by alleging the delay of the money and succours promised him by the pope and the king of Naples [a].

A body of French march to the relief of the Guelphs.

The sudden departure of Philip encouraging the Gibelline faction, John entered into a stricter alliance with the kings of France and Naples, and, to supply the expences of the war, appropriated to himself the first-fruits of all vacant benefices for three years. At the same time he renewed his anathema against the rebels in Italy. He particularly excommunicated Frederic, king of Trinacria, and laid his kingdom under an interdict, because he had not observed the truce appointed by the pope betwixt him and the king of Naples; and upon his return from his expedition against Genoa, had seized some of the ecclesiastical revenues in Sicily [b]. He, at this period, returned an answer to the ambassadors of Poland, and commissioned the archbishop of Gnesna, with two other prelates, to examine the complaints against the Teutonic knights, who were accused of unjustly seizing all Pomerania. At the same time he refused to grant the title of king to Uladislaus, lest he should offend the kings of Bohemia and France; but he declared secretly to the ambassadors, that he would not hinder the Poles from using their own right.

The pope excommunicates the king of Trinacria.

A.D. 1321. He condemned the doctrines of John a Poliaco, a Parisian divine, who asserted, that those who confessed their sins to the monks were likewise bound to confess them over again to the parish-priest. Having published a bull against that doctrine, he commissioned other Franciscans to go to Tartary, Ethiopia, Armenia, and other eastern nations, writing by them to George, king of the Georgians, and to the princes of Tartary, exhorting them to return to the unity of the Roman church. He likewise restored the bishop to Kiovia, in Russia, and created a Do-

Sends missionaries into Tartary, &c.

[a] Villan. lib. ix. cap. 108. Corius, part. iii. [b] Villan. lib. ix. cap. 133. Fazel. dec. ii. lib. ix.

minican

minican bishop of Armenia. Mean while the war still continuing in Italy, and Frederic, king of Trinacria, in resentment for the sentence of excommunication denounced against him, granting fresh succours to the Gibelline faction, John renewed his anathema against Maffeo Viconti and his adherents, and promised to confirm the election of Frederic duke of Austria to the empire, if he would send an army to the assistance of the Guelphs in Italy. Frederic willingly embraced the offer of the pope, and sent his brother Henry into Italy with two thousand horse; but Maffeo represented to him, that, if he aspired to the empire, he was acting against his own interest, by endeavouring to ruin the Gibellines, who were only engaged in supporting the rights of the empire; and that, if their faction were extirpated, Italy would then become subject to the popes. Upon this representation Frederic wrote to his brother to quit Italy: to appease the pope, who was highly offended at that order, he sent commissaries into Italy, to procure a truce betwixt the contending parties, but without any effect, he himself being defeated and taken prisoner a few weeks after by his rival Lewis, duke of Bavaria [c]. A.D. 1322.

Condemns some doctrines of the Franciscans.

John in the mean time received an appeal of the Franciscans from a sentence of the inquisitor at Narbonne, who had accused one of their order as a heretic, for asserting, that Christ and his apostles had no property either in common or in part, which opinion was justified by a decree of Nicolas III. The pope proposed the affair to the universities and learned men in Europe; and, till he should receive their decision, he superseded the decree of Nicolas. The Franciscans soon after, holding a general chapter at Perugia, declared that they adhered to the decree of Nicholas; and that to renounce the property of all temporal goods was pious and meritorious, as it was following that perfection which was taught by Christ and his apostles, and confirmed by their example. The pope, being informed of this determination, published a bull, affirming, that the obstinate asserting of the opinion, that Christ and his apostles had no property, was erroneous and heretical: and in another bull he prohibited the Franciscans from asking any thing for the future in the name of the Roman church [d]. As the Franciscans were thus deprived of their usual style of begging, they were greatly offended with the pope, and A.D. 1323.

[c] Villan. lib. ix. cap. 174. See also the History of the Empire.
[d] Spond. Annal. Wadding. Annal. Minor. tom. iii. hoc an.

several of them went over to the party of the Gibellines, notwithstanding that faction appeared then on the decline, a circumstance owing in some measure to the death of Maffeo Viconti, which happened a few months before. The pope's general soon after defeated Mark Viconti, and in the month of June besieged Milan. However, the Gibellines assembling under the command of count Berthold, whom, with other two counts, the emperor had sent into Italy, and marching to the relief of the city, the Guelphs were obliged to raise the siege, which had continued near two months [e].

He orders the emperor to abdicate his dignity.

The pope, in resentment for the assistance given to the Gibellines by the emperor, wrote a monitory to him, which he likewise sent to be published in Germany, Italy, France, England, and in other kingdoms. In this writing the pope declared, that as Lewis of Bavaria had, without the approbation of the apostolic see, not only assumed the title of king of the Romans, but also usurped the administration of the empire in Germany and Italy, to the manifest prejudice of the Roman church, to whom that right belonged during an interregnum; that as he had assisted the Viconti, though condemned for heresy; and had likewise aided the other rebels of the church, and done many other things to the detriment of Christianity; he therefore warned him, under pain of excommunication, to desist from all exercise of the functions of an emperor within three months, and not to resume the same without the approbation of the apostolic see. He likewise prohibited any one, of what character or dignity soever, from assisting him in any thing relating to the administration of the empire [f]. Being informed that the siege of Genoa, after continuing five years, was at last raised, he sent for deputies from both the factions in that city, and in vain endeavoured to reconcile them. He sent messengers also to the king of Servia, to exhort him to return to the unity of the Roman church; renewed the bulls of his predecessors against carrying arms or warlike stores to the Saracens; and entered into an alliance with the king of France and the Venetians, to oppose the progress of the Turks in Syria.

A.D. 1324. Mean while the monitory being published in Germany, the emperor sent three messengers to the pope, to know the reasons of his proceeding, and to ask some delay. In a diet

[e] Villan. lib. ix. cap. 195, 196. 211, 212. [f] Bzov. hoc ann.

at

at Nuremberg, he drew up a protestation against the assertions contained in the monitory, appealing to the see of Rome, and a future general council; and declaring, that the pope himself was a favourer of heresy, as he discouraged penitents to come to confession, and endeavoured to abolish the sovereignty of kings. The deputies, upon their arrival at Avignon, pretended to believe, that the monitory was a forgery; but being assured that it was real, they asked a delay of two months, which was granted by the pope, to allow the emperor time to repent. The two months elapsing without any submission on the part of the emperor, John declared him fallen under the sentence of excommunication; but granted him three months longer, within which time he ordered him, under pain of deposition, to appear personally, or by his proxies, before the apostolic see. At the same time he declared all those prelates and ecclesiastics, who had acted against the monitory, to have fallen under a sentence of suspension from their office and benefices. The emperor still continuing to despise his fulminations, the pope at length, on the 20th of July, denounced a definitive sentence against him, declaring him deprived of all sovereignty which he might pretend to in right of his election, and summoned him to appear at Avignon before the 1st of October. Mean while the Viconti in Italy having defeated the troops of the church, and taken two of their generals prisoners, John renewed the censures against the Gibellines, and ordered a new crusade to be preached against them. However, their arms still continued successful, and towards the end of the year they made themselves masters of Monza.

The emperor is excommunicated, and deposed by the pope.

The emperor, being informed of the sentence of deposition denounced against him by the pope, resolved vigorously to defend his authority and character. Several Franciscans, who, upon account of adhering to the primitive institutions of their order, were reckoned schismatics, from their hatred to the pope, repairing to his court, Lewis made use of their pens in defending his cause; and published a long manifesto, which is preserved in Aventine[z], in which he accuses the pope of sowing discord and sedition among all Christians; of publicly boasting, that, when the Christian princes were at war, then the bishop of Rome was truly pope; that he would bruise the brazen serpent, meaning the empire of the Germans, to dust; and that he would not leave one in Italy who ac-

He publishes a manifesto in his own defence.

[z] Avent. lib. vii. p. 610—613.

knowleged the empire. He likewiſe aſſerted, that he was antichriſt, and had the ſpirit of ſatan, in allowing himſelf to be worſhipped, which even an angel would not accept of from St. John; that the temporal juriſdiction, which the pope poſſeſſed, was owing to the liberality, or rather weakneſs, of the emperors; that, if he was the ſervant of the ſervants of God, he ought not be of all men the moſt ambitious of honours and wealth; that he was a heretic, by condemning the orthodox opinion of the poverty of Chriſt and his apoſtles; from him therefore he appealed to the ſentence of a general council (D). The pope. to defend himſelf from the accuſation of hereſy, publiſhed another bull, explaining his former decrees againſt the

(D) This manifeſto was ſuppoſed to have been written by John di Gandone or Ghent, and Marſilius de Manandrino of Padua, the laſt of whom publiſhed a book this year concerning the imperial and pontifical juriſdiction, which he dedicated to the emperor, and intitled, Defenſor Pacis, or, *An Advocate for Peace.* John alſo publiſhed a book concerning the eccleſiaſtical power. They both affirmed, that when Chriſt paid tribute to Cæſar, he paid it as a debt due to the emperor for his civil protection; therefore the temporal poſſeſſions of the church were ſubject to the emperor. 2dly, That Chriſt, at his aſcenſion into heaven, left no viſible head of his church, and appointed no vicar, nor had Peter any more authority than any other of the apoſtles. 3dly, That it belonged to the emperor to appoint or depoſe, and puniſh the pope, ſince Chriſt, as a ſubject, was crucified by Pilate; and Marſilius added, that, during a vacancy of the apoſtolic ſee, the emperor might ſucceed the pope, and govern the church. 4thly, That all prieſts, whether the pope, archbiſhops, or ſimple prieſts, according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, were equal as to authority and juriſdiction; and that one of them poſſeſſing more than another, was owing entirely to the gift of the emperor. 5thly, That the whole church united could not inflict a coercive puniſhment upon any one, without the authority of the emperor. In anſwer to theſe books, others were likewiſe publiſhed that ſame year, particularly by the archbiſhop of Ravenna, concerning the juriſdiction of the empire, and the authority of the pope. Pelagius Alvarus, a Spaniard, and biſhop of Sylves, publiſhed another work in juſtification of the pope; and Peter de Palude, a Dominican, wrote a treatiſe on the immediate origin of eccleſiaſtical power (1).

(1) Poſſev. Appar. Sac. tom. i. Bzov. an. 1327. Prateol. & Gualter. de Hæreſ. Alvar. de Planctu Eccleſ. lib. i. cap. 68.

Franciſ-

Franciscans, many of whom, for adhering to the opinion of the council of Perugia, were then burnt as heretics in different parts of the world [h].

The king of France, at the desire of the pope, solicits the empire.

Not finding that ready submission from the prelates of Germany that he expected, in publishing his monitory, he resolved to raise up a powerful competitor against the emperor; he accordingly negociated with Leopold, brother of the duke of Austria, in favour of Charles the Fair, king of France. It was stipulated, that Charles should compel Lewis of Bavaria to quit his pretensions to the empire; and, after his election, give thirty thousand marks of silver to Leopold, on condition that his brother, Frederic of Austria, would likewise quit his claim to the empire. In consequence of this agreement, the pope exerted himself to procure the votes of the electors in Germany; and Leopold, having solicited the princes in the interest of his brother, and receiving a favourable answer from others that had hitherto embraced no party, wrote to the king of France, desiring him to repair to Bar sur Aube, on the confines of the empire, to have a conference with the German princes, who had promised to go thither. Charles accordingly went to that city with a splendid retinue, but, to his great disappointment, found only duke Leopold [i]. This affront greatly cooled the ardour of the king of France; and, notwithstanding the pope and Leopold assured him, that a little money would procure him the interest of a great many princes, who had but a weak attachment to Lewis of Bavaria, on account of his being excommunicated, yet Charles refused to concern himself any farther in the affair, and entirely dropped his pretensions. The pope was soon after greatly surprised with the news of an accommodation betwixt the emperor and his competitor Frederic of Austria; Frederic, in consideration of his renouncing all pretensions to the empire, being set at liberty, and not only allowed to retain the title of king of the Romans, but also appointed to govern Germany during the emperor's absence in Italy, whither he intended to march with an army to the assistance of the Gibellines [k]. As this agreement entirely broke the measures of the pope, he immediately declared it null and void, absolved Frederic from the obligation of his oath,

A.D. 1325.

Frederic of Austria is reconciled to the emperor, and resigns in his favour.

[h] Eymer. Director. Inquis. part. ii. qu. 11. Anton. tit. xxi. cap. 5. [i] Villan. lib. ix. cap. 207. ap. Murator. tom. xiii. p. 561. [k] Idem, cap. 293. Hoe'em, de Gest. Pont. Leodien. lib. ii. cap. 10. Chron. Aulæ Reg. cap. 15. apud Scriptor. Rer. Boem.

and prevailed with ſeveral electors to deny their aſſent to the accommodation, aſſerting, that neither of the competitors had a right to reſign in favour of the other. To ſupport the expences of the war in Italy, he likewiſe ſolicited the payment of the penny of St. Peter in the kingdoms of Scotland, Sweden, Norway, Portugal, and Sicily; but in Poland, inſtead of the uſual tax of three pence and a meaſure of oats for each houſe, he only exacted a penny, becauſe the kingdom was weakened by the revolt of Sileſia to the king of Bohemia [1].

About this time he likewiſe condemned ſome propoſitions of Peter John Olive, a Franciſcan, who, in his comments on St. Matthew's Goſpel, the Canonical Epiſtles, and the Revelations, had advanced ſome doctrines which were interpreted by the ſchiſmatic Franciſcans to favour their opinion (E). The pope, to prevent the propagation of thoſe doctrines into the diſtant provinces, publiſhed a bull, denouncing an anathema againſt the monks, of whatever order, who ſhould dare to go beyond ſeas

[1] Bzov. Pol. hoc ann.

(E) Peter John Olive was born in France, and died in 1297, in the fiftieth year of his age. In his youth he wrote a book in praiſe of the Virgin Mary, which was condemned during the pontificate of Nicholas III. as containing ſome things too extravagant. He afterwards was frequently accuſed by the brothers of his order, whoſe reſentment he had drawn upon himſelf by his ſevere reproofs of their luxury, and his endeavours to recall them to the poverty and rigour of their firſt inſtitution. After his death his body was dug up, he was condemned as a heretic, and his writings were burnt, and remained prohibited till the time of Sixtus IV. who having ordered them to be examined, declared they contained nothing expreſsly contrary to the catholic faith. The propoſitions condemned by John are mentioned by Emmericus, in his Directory of the Inquiſition, under twenty two heads. The chief of them are, "That the pope was the myſtical anti-chriſt; that St. Francis was the angel in the Revelations, ſaid to have the mark of the living God, and that his rule was the true Goſpel; that the perfect ſtate of the church began with St. Francis, and that Chriſt and his apoſtles had no property either in common or in particular, but only the uſu-fruct of what they enjoyed (1)."

(1) Direct. Inquiſ. par. ii. iv. ix. Wadding. Annal. Claren. in 3. Tribul. Ordin. Anton. tit. xxiv. cap. 9. ſect. xi. & 13.

without

without letters patent from their superiors, charging the superiors not to grant those letters but to men of learning and experience. At the same time, at the request of the Dominicans, he granted a power to the general of their order to appoint a vicar over all the monks who were employed in preaching the gospel among the infidels, from whence is generally dated the original of the society of Missionaries [m], though some refer it to the time of Innocent IV. seventy-two years before this period [n]. This year, likewise, John being informed that the heretics, who had been expelled from other provinces, had taken refuge in Bosnia, he wrote to Charles, king of Hungary, and to Stephen, prince of Bosnia, desiring them to extirpate the heretics, and to give their assistance and protection to the Franciscans.

The establishment of the society of Missionaries.

Next year, the Romans having expelled their nobility, and appointed Sciarra Colonna as their governor, and settled likewise a council of fifty-two citizens, sent ambassadors to the pope, desiring him to come and reside in their city, otherwise they would consult for themselves as they thought proper. Whether they really desired his presence is uncertain; for about the same time they sent deputies both to the emperor and the king of Naples, acknowleging their submission to each of those princes. John replied, that he desired greatly to comply with their request, but excused himself on account of his great age and the danger of the journey; but, to oppose the designs of the emperor in Italy, he again declared the king of Naples vicar of the empire in that kingdom; appointed cardinal John d'Orsini, a Roman, as legate in Tuscany, Campania, and Sardinia; and created James Sabellus and Stephen Colonna as consuls in Rome. The legate, upon his arrival at Rome, excommunicated Castruccio Castracani, commonly called tyrant of Lucca, and chief of the Gibellines in Tuscany. The bishop of Arezzo, who adhered to that party, was likewise excommunicated and deposed [o].

A.D. 1326.

The pope invited to Rome.

Soon after, the emperor arriving with a small army at Trent, he was immediately joined by the chiefs of the Gibelline faction, and a great number of ecclesiastics of all degrees, particularly by the Franciscans, who were greatly irritated against the pope. He there held a council, which drew up sixteen articles against the pope; and,

A.D. 1327.

The emperor enters Italy, and is crowned at Milan.

[m] Spond. Annal. hoc anno. [n] Wadding. tom. iv. ann. 1399. Spond. Annal. lib. ix. cap. 348. lib. x. cap. 3.

having condemned him as guilty of heresy, excommunicated him and all his adherents [p]. From Trent, Lewis proceeded to Milan, where he was crowned with the iron crown by the deposed bishop of Arezzo, together with the bishops of Reggio and Brescia; the archbishop of Milan, who was of the opposite party, being then a refugee at Genoa. Having taken the government of Milan from the Viconti, on a suspicion of treason, he held a diet at Orzi, in the territory of Brescia, where he created three new bishops, and received a subsidy of two hundred thousand florins of gold. The emperor then advancing to Pisa and Lucca, the Romans, who had received a denial from the pope, invited him to their city, while the legate again renewed the sentence of excommunication against him in the city of Florence. Though the emperor, in the diet held at Trent, had excommunicated the pope, yet, according to Cuspinianus and Trithemius, he sent to Avignon, and desired John to confer upon him the imperial crown [q]. The ambassadors were treated with ignominy by the pope, who, on the 20th of October, pronounced a definitive sentence of excommunication and deposition against the emperor, ordered the electors to proceed to a new election, and prohibited any one, of what dignity soever, from giving him any assistance [r]. About the same time he likewise excommunicated Marsilius of Padua, and John di Gandone, and condemned the errors contained in their books [s]. His legate, in the mean time, with the prince of Morea, entered Rome by surprize, and took possession of the Leonine part of the city; but the emperor's party ringing the alarm-bell of the Capitol, the Neapolitans were next morning expelled with great loss.

Soon after the emperor arrived with his army at Rome, and held an assembly in the Capitol, in which he thanked the Romans for their kindness, and promised to defend and enlarge their privileges. They, in return, created him a senator and captain of the people for one year, and chose four of the most noble of their citizens to assist at his coronation; which ceremony was performed in the church of St. Peter, on the 17th of January, with great magnificence, Lewis being consecrated by two schismatic bishops, and crowned by Sciarra Colonna. After his co-

A.D. 1328.

He receives the crown at Rome.

[p] Spond. Annal. lib. ix. cap. 348. lib. x. cap. 3. [q] Cuspin. de Cæsar. Trithem. in utroque Chron. [r] Villan. cap. 68. [s] Spond. Annal.

ronation

ronation the emperor created a great many knights, and caused three imperial decrees to be read concerning the catholic faith, the honouring of the clergy, and the protection of widows and orphans. Upon the approach of the emperor to Rome, all the clergy that adhered to the pope retired from the city, which was then put under an interdict; and John, being ignorant that the emperor was already crowned at Rome, about the end of January published a bull for a crusade against Lewis of Bavaria and his adherents. This fulmination was too late to have any effect; for the emperor, having now secured the affection of the Romans, was resolved, in his turn, to depose his antagonist. Accordingly, about the middle of April, he held a solemn assembly in St. Peter's church; and ordered a crier to call out three times, if any person would undertake the defence of the priest James of Cahors, who called himself pope John. Nobody making answer, an abbot of Germany read a long sentence against the pope, whom he accused of being a deserter of his see; of unjustly claiming the disposal of all ecclesiastical benefices, which he conferred by simony on unworthy persons; of raising dangerous schisms and wicked heresies in the church of God; of oppressing the cardinals and other prelates, of confounding the temporal and spiritual power, and of deciding concerning the poverty of Christ and his apostles contrary to the catholic opinion; the emperor therefore pronounced a sentence of deposition against the said John, whom he left to be punished by the secular power; and condemned all his adherents, of what rank or quality soever, to the confiscation of their effects, and the punishment of death[t]. A few days after the emperor published some laws about the future popes, ordaining that they should not be absent from Rome above three months in a year, nor go above two days journey from the city without leave of the people; and, if after they were recalled three times, they refused to return, a new one should be elected. He then, with the consent of the Romans, created a Franciscan anti-pope, by the name of Nicholas V. who made a promotion of seven cardinals, appointed governors in the cities of the ecclesiastical state, and sent legates into the different provinces of Christendom. Nicholas likewise published a bull, confirming the deposition of John, and declaring his adherents guilty of heresy.

Deposes the pope, and creates an anti-pope.

[t] Villan. cap. 68.

Lewis,

Lewis, after theſe proceedings, marched againſt the king of Naples; but being diſappointed in his ſuccours from the Gibellines and the king of Sicily, he returned to the city, where his intereſt was ſo greatly fallen, that, in a mutiny againſt his troops, the party of the Guelphs had the advantage [u]. Finding that he could not with ſafety continue any longer at Rome, he left that city on the 4th of Auguſt, with his anti-pope, and marched to Viterbo, and from thence to Fodi. Upon his departure from Rome the pope's legate entered the city, and annulled all the acts of the emperor and Peter di Corbaria, the anti-pope, the Romans teſtifying their conſent with loud acclamations, and the boys even digging up the bodies of the Germans, and throwing them into the Tyber. Lewis, in the mean time, marching to Piſa, at the entreaty of Michael Ceſena, general of the Franciſcans, and William Oakham, an Engliſhman, publiſhed his ſentence againſt the pope, who again excommunicated the emperor and his adherents, particularly Ceſena and Oakham, and was ſo exaſperated againſt the Franciſcans, that, according to Antoninus, he deliberated upon ſuppreſſing the whole order [w].

The intereſt of the emperor daily declining in Italy, the March of Ancona, and the whole patrimony of the church, returned next year to the obedience of the ſee of Rome; the city of Milan likewiſe ſubmitted to the pope; and John Viconti, the brother of Matthew, reſigned his dignity of cardinal, which he had received from the anti-
A.D. 1329. pope, and was created biſhop of Movara. The emperor, being in great diſtreſs for want of money, and finding himſelf deſerted by the Gibellines, marched towards Trent, to hold a council with the chiefs of his party in Italy, and the nobles in Germany; but being informed of the death of the duke of Auſtria, he pretended this as a reaſon for his quitting Italy, and marched with his army into Bavaria [x]. In the mean time the pope again excommunicated Ceſena, and appointed the biſhop of Tuſculum vicar of the order of Franciſcans, till a new general ſhould be elected. He likewiſe anſwered the libels of Ceſena, which anſwers were examined by Oakham; and, in return, his objections were anſwered by friar James Fornerius, who had been lately promoted to the dignity of car-

The emperor returns to Germany.

[u] Rainald, ad ann. 1328. Villan. cap. 76. [w] Anton. fect. xv. Spond. Annal. [x] Villan. cap. 146.

dinal,

dinal [y]. John offered great rewards for apprehending the anti-pope, by which means that unhappy person was discovered in the house of count Boniface, at Pisa, where he had concealed himself for several months. Finding himself without resource from the emperor or his party, he resolved to throw himself on the clemency of the pope, and voluntarily surrendered to the archbishop of Pisa and the bishop of Lucca, who having received a commission from the pope, absolved him, upon his abjuring certain articles prescribed to him by his holiness [z]. A.D. 1330. *The anti-pope is apprehended.*

In the mean time the pope was greatly alarmed at Avignon by the approach of William, count of Hainault, the emperor's father-in-law, with eighteen hundred horse, who, in consequence of a vow, proposing to march into Granada against the Moors, was desirous of receiving the benediction of the pope. John, suspecting that the count intended to do him an injury, sent for the nobles in the neighbourhood, armed his retinue, and forbad the count from entering Provence under pain of excommunication, absolving him likewise from his vow, on condition that he returned home [a]. About the same time John received an embassy from Germany, proposing a reconciliation between him and the emperor, who offered to abandon the anti-pope, to retract his appeal, annul all that had been done against the holy see, and acknowlege himself justly excommunicated, provided the pope would acknowlege him as emperor. The pope rejected these preliminaries with great disdain; and, in his letter to the king of Bohemia, ordered him and the other electors to proceed to a new election. At this period the anti-pope arrived at Avignon from Pisa, and appeared in a public consistory with a rope about his neck, begging absolution from the pope. Having publicly made a confession of his crimes, and a profession of faith agreeable to the tenets of the Roman church, John confirmed the absolution which he had received at Pisa, but confined him as an honourable prisoner in the palace, where he lived three years, and, at his death, was buried in the church of the Franciscans [b]. The pope likewise sent a form of the catholic doctrine to the emperor of the Tartars; wrote to the Armenians to continue in the unity of the Roman church; granted a great many privileges and indulgences to the Do- *The king of France obtains the tithes of all the ecclesiastical revenues in his kingdom.*

[y] Eymer. Direct. Inquis. par. ii. qu. 15—17. [z] Rainald. ann. 1330. Wadding, eod. ann. [a] Villan, cap. 155. [b] Idem, cap. 162.

minicans

minicans and Franciscans who were preaching the Gospel among the infidels; and ordered the inquisitors of the faith to proceed against those who practised magic, or other unlawful arts [c].

A.D. 1331. In the following January he again renewed his anathema against Michael de Cesena, and prohibited, under severe penalties, Oakham, Bonagratia, and Thalheim, from obeying that heretic. This decree was published in all the houses of the order of the Franciscans by the general, who, in a chapter of the order at Perpignan, confirmed the sentence against the schismatics, published two years before in the chapter of Paris; and condemned Cesena, Thalheim, Francis de Esculo, Oakham, and Bonagratia, to perpetual imprisonment, on account of their contumacy, and of the heresies which they publicly taught [d]. Mean while, the king of Bohemia having entered Italy with an army, as vicar of the empire, and conquered the greatest part of Lombardy, his great successes equally alarmed the emperor and the faction of the Guelphs. Lewis, being informed that he had a conference with the pope's legate, was apprehensive that he would be prevailed upon by the pope to aspire to the empire; while the Guelphs, imagining that the pope had secretly invited the king into Italy, and connived at his conquests, entered into a league against him and the legate, in which they were joined by the Gibellines, who believed that the king did not act so much to serve the emperor, as to aggrandize his own family. The king of Bohemia having returned to Germany to repel some enemies that had invaded Bohemia in his absence, the emperor sent two of his secretaries, as ambassadors to the pope, to treat of a reconciliation with the holy see, but without any effect. Soon after this event John received an embassy from the king of France, informing him, that he intended to undertake an expedition into the Holy Land, and desiring, for that purpose, the tithes of all Christendom for six years, the right of conferring all ecclesiastical benefices in his kingdom; the kingdom of Italy for his brother Charles, and the title of king of Arles and Vienne for his own son; which extravagant demands were made to excuse the king from his vow [e].

The king of Bohemia reduces Lombardy.

John, still intent upon opposing the emperor, wrote to the king of Bohemia, and the duke of Austria, exhorting

[c] Spond. Annal. [d] Bzov. hoc ann. [e] Villan. cap. 196. ap. Murator. xiii. p. 720. Spond. Annal.

them

them to abandon his party. His solicitations at last prevailed with the duke of Austria, who not only deserted the interest of the emperor, but acknowleged himself the vassal of the pope. But the king of Bohemia, hoping that the confusions in Italy would influence the pope to hearken to an accommodation, went to Avignon, and solicited him in behalf of the emperor. John remained inflexible to all the solicitations of the king, notwithstanding Lewis, at the intreaty of the king of France, sent another embassy to him to treat of peace. He even deposed the bishop of Castello, for reporting in Germany, that the emperor was reconciled to the holy see, and made an offer of the empire to the king of Bohemia, who rejected that proposition, and soon after quitted Avignon. A.D. 1332.

Solicited by the pope to desert the emperor.

In the course of the following year John raised a new set of enemies against himself, by asserting, in a discourse at Avignon, that the souls of the happy or damned are not perfectly blessed or miserable till after the resurrection, when they shall have again received their bodies. Though this opinion seemed to have been embraced by Justin, Irenæus, Origen, and other ancient fathers, both Greeks and Latins, yet it raised a great many adversaries against the pope, not only among the cardinals and prelates, but among all ranks of men, especially the Dominicans. But many of the Franciscans declared for the opinion of the pope; and Gerard, general of the order, preached in favour of that doctrine at Paris. His discourses occasioned disturbances in that city; and the king, having received the opinion of the doctors, ordered him publicly to retract his doctrine, on pain of being burnt as a heretic. Philip likewise wrote to the pope, signifying to his holiness, that it did not become a pope to propose doubtful questions, but rather to decide those that were proposed by others. John excused himself, by declaring, that he had not mentioned that opinion by way of assertion, but as a probability, and a subject of dispute, with an intention to have the opinion of the learned [f]. By explaining his opinion, and declaring that he never intended to maintain a doctrine contrary to the catholic faith, he stopped the clamour that was raised against him. However, the schismatic Franciscans, or Fratricelli, continued to exclaim against him as a heretic, not only on account of his opinion concerning the state of departed souls, but likewise for his decrees against their doctrine of the poverty A.D. 1333.

The pope is accused of professing an heretical doctrine.

He explains his opinion in a catholic sense.

[f] Villan. cap. 228. Bzov. an. 1331. Wadding. hoc an.

of

of Christ and his apostles, which they founded on that declaration of our Saviour, "He that does not sell all that he has, and give to the poor, cannot be my disciple."

A.D.1334. *The king of Bohemia quits Italy.*

Mean while the king of Bohemia, having returned to Italy, joined his troops to those commanded by the legate; but, being defeated by the confederates near Ferrara, he thought proper to evacuate Italy, and to abandon all his conquests in Lombardy. The pope, being informed, that the emperor, in the terrors of dying out of the communion of the church, had consented to resign his sceptre, and return to a private station, he wrote a letter to him, exhorting him to put such a laudable design in execution; and even sent two legates to Munich to receive his abdication, ordering them, in case of his refusal, to absolve the princes and barons of the empire from their oath of allegiance. The legates, upon their arrival at Munich, were not allowed to enter upon any negociation; a circumstance which so exasperated the pope, that he wrote to the bishops of Bremen, Magdeburgh, and Cologne, to publish new anathemas against the emperor and his adherents, and excited several princes to ravage his hereditary dominions[g]. About the same time he commissioned the archbishop of Rouen to give the cross to the king of France, and to the kings of Navarre and Bohemia, and to many other nobles who were then at Paris[h].

The emperor proposes to call a general council to depose the pope.

The emperor, in order to oppose the designs of the pope, resolved to conclude a peace with Robert, king of Naples, and to call a general council, to proceed against John as a heretic; for which purpose he entered into a secret negociation with cardinal Neapoleo d'Orsini, who was likewise offended with the pope, because, contrary to his promise, he had resided in France[i].

John dies at Avignon.

Before the emperor could execute his design, his adversary was removed by death, on the 4th of December, at Avignon. John, sensible of the great scandal he had raised by his doctrine of the state of departed souls, sent for the cardinals into his chamber, and, in their presence, revoked his opinion of that doctrine; and submitted all questions upon which he had either discoursed or written, to the determination of the church and his successors. Having confirmed this declaration by a bull, he died next day, leaving behind him an immense treasure, a-

[g] Ptol. Lucceus, Hist. Eccles. Inst. lib. xxiv. cap. 42. [h] Mat. Villan. lib. vii. cap. 2. [i] Rainald. ad an. 1324.

mounting

mounting in money and jewels to twenty-five millions of florins of gold [k]. This sum he acquired, by reserving to himself the conferring of benefices through all Christendom, under pretence of preventing simony, though it appears that he himself did not bestow them for nothing. He likewise reserved the annates, or first year's revenues, of all new collated benefices, which were very numerous during his pontificate, as he generally supplied vacancies by transporting the incumbents from other benefices. He is also said to have instituted the tribunal of the twelve chaplains of the pope, called Rotæ Auditores, which was to determine appeals from all the parts of Christendom [l] (F).

A.D. 1335. A few days after the death of John, the cardinals, to the number of twenty-four, went into the conclave to chuse a successor. They divided, as usual, into parties; and cardinal Colonna, who was at the head of the weakest faction, proposed John Raimund, cardinal-bishop of Porta, who was approved of by the other party, on condition that he would promise not to go to Rome. As he refused to agree to this condition, some of the conclave carelessly proposed James Fournier, a Cistertian monk, and the lowest of the order of cardinals, who was thereupon immediately elected, he himself being astonished at their choice, and calling out, that they had chosen an ass. He was consecrated on the first of January, and took the name of Benedict XII. bestowing upon the cardinals a hundred thousand florins of gold, and sending fifty thousand to repair the churches of Rome [m]. He

Cardinal Fournier is elected pope.

takes the name of Benedict XII.

[k] Wadding. & Bzov. hoc an. Villan. lib. xi. cap. 20. [l] Polyd. de Rer. Invent. lib. vi. cap. 12. Ciacon. in Joannem XXII. [m] Naucler. Gen. 25.

(F) John XXII. added a third crown to the pontifical tiara. The first crown worn by the popes was sent by Clovis king of France, as a present to St. John de Lateran, and was placed by pope Hormisdas, about the year 515, upon his own head, above the cap which he usually wore. His successors, till Boniface VIII. used the single crown; but that pope, on the occasion of his disputes with Philip the Fair, king of France, assumed a double crown, to signify his claim to both the spiritual and temporal authority. At last John added a third crown to the tiara, in which form it has been worn by all his successors (1).

(1) Hist. de Philip de Valois, lib. i.

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immediately sent letters to all the Christian princes, except the emperor and the king of Sicily, informing them of his elevation. He likewise denounced an anathema against the Fratricelli; revoked the benefices granted by his predecessor, if the incumbents were not in peaceable possession of them; and reserved to himself the bestowing of all the benefices that should become vacant at his court, or within two days journey thereof. About the same time he also sent Bertrand, archbishop of Yverdun, to the Romans, who were persuaded by him to govern the city under the name of the pope. Mean while the wars betwixt the two factions still continued to desolate Italy; and, as the authority of the emperor was disregarded, each powerful prince attacked his weaker neighbour, for the enlargement of his own territory. The emperor, to recover his authority in that kingdom, sent an embassy to the pope, to treat of a reconciliation with the holy see; but, the pope insisting upon the emperor's abdication, nothing was effected. Benedict, however, not having the same animosity to Lewis as his predecessor entertained, was not active in raising enemies against him, but contented himself with the formality of publishing the sentence of excommunication against him and his adherents.

A.D. 1336.

He receives an embassy from the emperor.

Publishes a bull concerning the beatific vision.

In the following year, Benedict having, together with the cardinals and doctors, examined the opinion of his predecessor concerning the beatific vision, published the recantation of John, with a commentary of his own, to establish the catholic doctrine, and to clear the reputation of his predecessor[n]. The ambassadors of the emperor again arrived at Avignon, to negociate a peace with the pope, having full power from Lewis, who offered to revoke all that he had done against John XXII. to annul the sentence published by Henry VII. and himself against Robert, king of Naples, and to subscribe several other articles greatly in favour of the see of Rome. As the pope gave a favourable reception to the ambassadors, the emperor soon after sent others with farther concessions: but the negociation was prevented from coming to a favourable conclusion, by the intrigues of the kings of Naples, Bohemia, and France, which last being threatened with a war from the king of England, was afraid the emperor, after his reconciliation with the holy see, would give assistance to Edward III. his brother-in-law. The king of Bohemia, who the year before had contracted an alliance

A peace proposed betwixt him and the emperor, but without effect.

[n] Spond. Annal.

with

with France, was entirely in the interest of Philip; and therefore wrote to the pope, that he, with the assistance of some other nobles, proposed to elect another king of the Romans. The interest of those princes with the cardinals being superior to that of the emperor, the negociation was broke off, and the ambassadors of the emperor returned to Germany [o]. The pope, being at this time desirous to prevent a war betwixt the kings of France and England, wrote to the emperor, to detach him from his alliance with Edward; but being likewise offended with the king of France, for neglecting his expedition into the Holy Land, he revoked the grant of the tithes which Philip had obtained from his predecessor. He also laboured A.D. 1337. to reform the discipline of the church, particularly of the Benedictines, Cistertians, and regular canons of St. Augustin. He restrained the Dominicans from preaching promiscuously, and from receiving confessions in the streets and public roads. He excommunicated the Bolognese, for refusing to submit to the church, and confirmed the sentence of excommunication of the bishop of Wratislaw against the king of Bohemia, for unjustly seizing and possessing a castle belonging to that bishoprick [p].

The pope endeavours in vain to reconcile the kings of France and England.

As hostilities had already commenced betwixt France and England in Gascony and Xaintonge, and the emperor, together with the German princes, had entered into a league with Edward at Cologne, the pope endeavoured to put a stop to the farther progress of the war, and sent two legates into France and England, to treat of an accommodation. The legates were received with great respect at Paris; Edward, however, would not allow them to enter England, but sent deputies to treat with them on the continent, where, after several conferences, nothing was concluded. Benedict finding the king of England inflexible, wrote to the emperor, exhorting him not to engage in the war against France. But Lewis not returning a favourable answer to this letter, the pope wrote to all the faithful, forbidding them to enter into alliance with Lewis. He afterwards received an embassy from the king of England, who desired leave to enter into an alliance with the emperor; but Benedict refused his consent, and, not being certain that the league was already concluded, he prohibited him from entering into any treaty with the enemy of the church. Lewis, however, being resolved

[o] Villan. lib. xi. cap. 54. [p] Bzov. hoc an. Villan. cap. 69. Michov. lib. iv. cap. 22. Cureus in Annal. Silef.

to break with the king of France, wrote to the pope, complaining of that prince for having seized several fiefs of the empire, and desiring the assistance of his holiness in obliging Philip to restore what he had usurped. Benedict returned no answer to Lewis, but informed the king of France of the emperor's intention, and therefore intreated him earnestly to a reconciliation with the king of England.

A.D. 1338. Benedict receiving an embassy from several bishops of Germany, soliciting him to be reconciled to the emperor, he declared to them, that unless Lewis concluded a peace with the king of France, he could not consent to grant him absolution, as Philip had threatened to use him worse than his predecessors had done Boniface, if he should absolve the emperor without his consent. The ambassadors returning without obtaining their purpose, the German princes, in defence of their own privileges, in a diet at Frankfort, published a perpetual edict, declaring, that whoever was elected king of the Romans by the majority of the electors, was thereby real king or emperor of the Romans, and did not need the consent or the approbation of the pope; and whoever dared to oppose that decree, should be accounted guilty of treason. A copy of this decree was sent to the pope, who, according to the relation of Dr. Albert, of Strasburgh, the messenger, seemed not to be greatly offended, but sent a nuncio to the emperor, desiring him to send ambassadors to Avignon, to treat of an accommodation with the holy see [q]. About the same time Benedict, being informed that the king of England had assumed the title of vicar of the empire, and was about to march into France with a powerful army, threatened him with excommunication if he did not resign that title. Hearing, afterwards, that the English army had retreated without any action, he again wrote to the king, exhorting him to a peace with Philip, and offering himself as mediator. At this period, he sent two legates into Sicily, who laid that kingdom under an interdict, because the Sicilians had refused, since the death of Frederic, to return to the obedience of the king of Naples [r].

The German nobles and bishops intreat the pope to be reconciled to the emperor.

A.D. 1339. Next year, the king of Arragon arriving at Avignon, Benedict gave him the investiture of Sardinia and Corsica, but refused to confirm his claims to the islands of Majorca

[q] Albert. Argent. Chron. p. 129. Fazel. dec. ii. cap. 9.

[r] Surit. Indict. lib. iii.

and

and Minorca. About the same time he received an embassy from Andronicus, emperor of Constantinople, offering to treat of an union with the Latin church, on condition that the chief cities of the empire possessed by the Turks should be recovered by the Latins from the infidels, and restored to the Greeks; and a general council should be appointed, where the Greeks might have liberty to defend the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit. Benedict answered, that, if the Greeks would agree to the union, the princes of the West would then give their assistance against the Turks. He then dismissed the ambassadors, because they declared, that they had no commission from the patriarch or bishops, but were only sent privately by the emperor. Mean while, Azo Visconti dying at Milan, his brother Luchino succeeded to the principality. The power of the emperor being disregarded in Italy, he was reconciled to the holy see, and purchased the title of vicar of the empire from the pope for fifty thousand florins of gold, and a yearly tribute of ten thousand [s]. His example was imitated by the other princes in Lombardy, who, being reconciled to the pope, acknowleged the empire to be vacant, and obtained the sanction of the apostolic see for their usurpations. Mastin Scala, or Scaliger, obtained the vicariate of Verona and Vicenza for a yearly tribute of five thousand florins; and, in like manner, William Gonzaga was appointed vicar of Mantua and Reggio; Albert Carraria, of Padua; Opizo Este, of Ferrara, Modena, and Argenta, in consideration of certain sums of money paid to the pope [t]. The city of Bologna, imitating the princes of Lombardy, submitted to the pope, and, promising to pay an annual tribute to the holy see, was absolved from the sentence of excommunication and interdict.

The pope gives the investiture of Sardinia and Corsica to the king of Arragon;

and sells the title of vicar of the empire to several nobles in Lombardy.

A.D. 1340.

Benedict being informed that Margaret, heiress of Carinthia and Tyrol, had obtained a pretended divorce from her husband John, the king of Bohemia's son, and married Lewis, marquis of Brandenburgh, son to the emperor, he annulled the marriage, because the divorce had been illegally obtained, and no dispensation granted on account of their consanguinity. He likewise excommunicated the count of Hainault, and laid his province under an interdict, because he had rebelled against his sovereign the king of France, and entered into a league with Edward,

[s] Villan, cap. 100. ap. Murat. tom. xiii p. 83. [t] Idem. ut supra.

A.D. 1341. king of England. Soon after these two princes having agreed to a truce till the middle of the following summer, they intreated the pope to send two legates to Arras, who, with their plenipotentiaries, might in the mean time negotiate a peace [u]. Not long after, the king of France having prevailed with the emperor to renounce his alliance with the king of England, and to enter into a treaty with him, he sent ambassadors to Avignon, to excuse his proceedings to the pope. Benedict declared, that he had long desired that accommodation; however, he blamed the king for treating with Lewis before he was reconciled to the holy see. About the same time he prevailed with the kings of France and England to continue the truce for another year; and not many months after this event, he died, at Avignon, on the 25th of April, in the seventh year and fourth month of his pontificate.

The emperor enters into an alliance with the king of France.

A.D. 1342.

Benedict dies at Avignon.

Clement VI. elected pope.

The cardinals, according to a constitution of Gregory X. having mourned nine days for pope Benedict, entered the conclave on the 7th of May, and unanimously chose cardinal Peter Proger, a Benedictine monk, whom Petrarch, his contemporary, calls a most learned pope [x]. Peter, having assumed the name of Clement VI. was consecrated in the church of the Dominicans, on the feast of Whitsuntide; and soon after received an embassy from the Romans, intreating him to come to Rome, and to appoint the celebration of the jubilee for the middle of the century (G). Clement declared, that he could not with safety then return to Italy, as the emperor threatened to enter that kingdom with an army, and had appointed vicars in many of the cities of the ecclesiastical state, in return for those of Lombardy that had received them from the pope. He excused himself likewise on account of the differences betwixt England and France, which he desired to accommodate. He accordingly sent two legates to these princes, who prolonged the truce for two years longer, in hopes of concluding a peace. Two legates were also sent into Lombardy, to form a league among the cities to oppose

He excuses himself from going to Rome.

[u] Villan, cap. 108—111.

[x] Petrar. lib. ii. Rer. Memor. cap. 1.

(G) Petrarch, who, the year before, had been created poet laureat by the king of Naples, was one of the deputies; and, upon his arrival at Avignon, in the name of the city and church of Rome, presented the pope with a poem upon his promotion.

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the emperor, against whom Clement ordered the anathemas of his predeceſſor to be again renewed; and becauſe the archbiſhop of Mentz refuſed to publiſh them, he cited him to appear at Avignon. Next year, in the month of January, Clement publiſhed a bull, appointing a jubilee to be held at Rome on the fiftieth year from the beginning of the century. He renewed all the cenſures of John XXII. againſt the emperor, whom he declared guilty of contumacy, and deprived of all dignity and honour; and wrote to the archbiſhop of Triers, and the other electors, to proceed to a new election. About the ſame time he entered into an alliance with the king of Cyprus and the Venetians againſt the Turks; and, having ordered a cruſade to be preached againſt thoſe infidels, he exhorted the knights of Rhodes to arm againſt them, appointing Henry, the Latin patriarch of Conſtantinople, as his legate, to have the command of the expedition. He likewiſe aſſigned a certain ſum to be raiſed from all the vacant benefices in England, as a revenue for two cardinals; but being informed, that the agents of the cardinals had been impriſoned by the king's officers, and afterwards ignominiouſly expelled the kingdom, he wrote to the king, complaining heavily of the indignity offered to the agents. Edward, having called a parliament, by their advice wrote to the pope, deſiring him to forbear for the future from claiming the firſt fruits of vacant benefices, or from conferring biſhopricks or abbacies upon foreigners who did not reſide in the iſland, as the right of patronage belonged to himſelf and his nobles [y].

A.D. 1343.

Appoints a jubilee to be held in Rome.

The emperor, alarmed with the violent proceedings of the pope, and ſenſible that a great many princes of Germany ſecretly favoured his deſigns, ſent an embaſſy to Avignon, offering to ſubmit to any terms that Clement ſhould preſcribe. The ambaſſadors appeared in the conſiſtory, before the pope, on the 16th of January; and preſented the emperor's ſubmiſſion, ſigned by his own hand, acknowleging all the hereſies of which he was accuſed, reſigning his children, and all his poſſeſſions into the hands of the pope, and abdicating the empire, promiſing not to reſume it, unleſs from the hands of his holineſs. They then deſired to know the articles of penance which the pope would be pleaſed to preſcribe to Lewis. Clement inſulted his ſubmiſſive adverſary, and inſiſted on ſeveral other grievous articles againſt the rights of the em-

A.D. 1344.

The emperor makes moſt ſubmiſſive conceſſions to the pope.

[y] Bzov. ex Cod. Vatic. de Reb. Angl. Walſing. in Edw. III.

pire, to which the ambassadors had no authority to agree. *The diet of Frankfort support the rights of the empire.* These articles being laid before the diet at Frankfort, that assembly sent deputies to the pope, desiring him to moderate his demands, declaring, that they would never agree to the articles which he had proposed. This unexpected fortitude in the princes of Germany greatly irritated the pope against the emperor; he resolved to push his resentment to the utmost, and began to treat with the king of Bohemia, the archbishop of Triers, and some other princes, to proceed to the election of another emperor. About the same time he created Lewis of Spain, count of Clermont, then at Avignon, as ambassador from France, king of the Fortunate Islands, or Canaries, on condition of his converting the inhabitants to Christianity [z]; and, to gratify the king of Bohemia, he erected the church of Prague into an archbishoprick, granting the archbishop the honour of the pall, the right of crowning the kings of Bohemia, which privilege formerly belonged to the archbishop of Mentz.

A.D. 1345. As the factions increased in Germany in the following year, Clement renewed his anathemas against the emperor, exhorted the electors to proceed to a new election, and sent a legate a latere into Italy, to support the faction of the church in that kingdom. Being informed of the murder of Andrew, king of Naples, and husband of Jane, the grand-daughter of Robert, he ordered an enquiry to be made after the murderers, against whom he denounced a sentence of excommunication, and gave a full commission to some counts to punish them, whether they should be found to be laymen or clergymen [a]. Hostilities being again renewed betwixt the kings of France and England, he sent two cardinals to those princes, to endeavour to conclude an accommodation; but the English refused to hearken to any terms proposed by the cardinals, accusing the pope of partiality to the king of France. Being informed, that his fleet, in conjunction with that of the Venetians and Genoese, had taken Smyrna, he ordered a crusade to be preached against the Turks, and appointed Humbert, dauphin of Vienne, as general of the land-army [b].

The emperor is excommunicated.

The pope endeavours in vain to conclude a peace betwixt France and England.

In consequence of the intrigues of the pope, John, king of Bohemia, arriving at Avignon, with his eldest son

[z] Petrar. de Vit Solit. lib. ii. sect. 6. cap 3. Walsh. ut supra.
[a] Villan. cap. 50, 51. See also the History of the Kingdom of Naples. [b] Spond. Annal.

Charles,

Charles, marquis of Moravia, to negociate for the empire in favour of Charles, Clement, to strengthen their party, deposed the archbishop of Mentz, as guilty of contumacy, and conferred that see upon Gerlac of Nassau, grandson of the emperor Adolphus. A few days after he published a bull against the emperor, deposing him from his dignity, and absolving all his subjects from their allegiance. This bull, which was dated on Good Friday, the 13th of April, was sent to all the prelates in Christendom, with a circular letter, ordering them to publish it in their churches. At the same time he wrote to the electors, enjoining them to proceed to a new election; but excluded the marquis of Brandenburgh from the privilege of voting, under pretence that his father, the emperor, being an usurper, had no right to confer that fief. Having thus secured a majority among the electors, he embraced that opportunity for extending the authority of the see of Rome, and accordingly entered into a treaty with the marquis Charles, who promised to revoke and annul all the acts made by Lewis of Bavaria, to confirm all the grants of former emperors to the see of Rome, to resign all pretensions to the territories of the countess Mathilda, not to enter Rome but upon the day of his coronation, and never to return but with the leave of the pope, and to annul all proceedings of his grandfather Henry VII. derogatory to those concessions. This treaty, which ruined the authority of the empire in Italy, and established that of the popes, being sworn to by Charles, and confirmed by his father, the king of Bohemia, Clement recommended him as a candidate for the empire, and he was accordingly chosen emperor a few months after, by four electors at Rentz, three of the electors still adhering to the interest of Lewis of Bavaria. Charles, immediately after his election, sent ambassadors to the pope, who having sworn in his name that he would fulfil the former treaty, Clement intimated his election in the consistory; and having with difficulty obtained the consent of the majority of the cardinals, published a bull for its confirmation [c].

A.D.1346. *The king of Bohemia and his son arrive at Avignon; and negociate a treaty for the empire.*

During these transactions in Germany and Avignon, a great revolution happened at Rome, owing to one Nicholas Gabrini di Rienzo, the son of a miller, who, having received good education from his parents, and being of an active and enterprising genius, was created a public scribe or notary. He having been sent with the ambassadors to

A.D.1347. *A revolution at Rome.*

[c] Rainald. ad an. 1346. Villan. cap. 59.

pope Clement, to invite him to Rome, and having received a denial from his holineſs, upon his return aſſembled the Romans in the Capitol, and made a long and warm diſcourſe to them, touching the deplorable ſtate of their city, and the happineſs of their ancient liberty. His words had ſuch an effect on the people, that they unanimouſly declared him tribune of the people, and conferred upon him the ſupreme power. He immediately degraded the ſenators appointed by the pope; ordered ſeveral of the nobility, convicted of oppreſſion, to be put to death; and baniſhed the Orſini, the Colonnæ, and many other noble families. Having eſtabliſhed his authority, and made himſelf reſpected by his regard to juſtice, he ſent letters to all the cities of Italy, informing them of the liberty of the Romans, and deſiring them to give their aſſiſtance to their mother city. His meſſengers were every where treated with great reſpect. Several cities, concluding that the Romans were about to recover their ancient grandeur, promiſed their aſſiſtance, and ſent golden rings as tokens of their fidelity. Not only the Italian cities, but even foreign princes, fought his alliance: he received an embaſſy with an offer of friendſhip from Lewis, king of Hungary, who was preparing to enter Italy with an army, to revenge the murder of his brother, the king of Naples. About the ſame time ambaſſadors arrived from Jane, queen of Naples, deſiring his mediation with the king of Hungary. The tribune likewiſe received an embaſſy from the emperor Lewis, ſoliciting his friendſhip; and Clement wrote to him from Avignon, commending his proceedings, and exhorting him to govern Rome in his name.

This grandeur was of very ſhort continuance; for Nicolas, being intoxicated with his authority, diſdained to have any dependence upon the pope, and reſolved to be abſolute maſter in Rome. Being deſirous of the dignity of knighthood, he bathed himſelf in the font in which Conſtantine the Great had formerly been baptized, and then received his arms from the ſyndic of Rome and two knights, before the altar of St. Peter; at the ſame time being crowned with the different crowns, he aſſumed the title of Candidate Knight of the Holy Ghoſt, ſevere and merciful, Deliverer of Rome, Aſſertor of the Liberties of Italy, Lover of the Univerſe, and Auguſt Tribune. He likewiſe publiſhed a letter, declaring Rome the head of the world; and cited Lewis and Charles of Bohemia, with the other electors, to appear at Rome, to juſtify the rights and privileges which they aſſumed. Theſe extravagant proceedings

proceedings ruined his character; and the pope, looking upon him as a mad enthusiast, published several bulls against him, accusing him of schism and heresy, upon which the ardour of the people in his favour greatly abated. Soon after, the banished nobles entering the city by surprize with some troops, Nicholas was deserted by the people, and fled to Lewis king of Hungary, who was then at Naples. He afterwards skulked for some time, in the habit of a pilgrim, among the mountains, and at length was brought to Avignon, where he was detained prisoner [d].

The emperor is killed by a fall.

While Nicholas was in the height of his grandeur at Rome, Clement was informed of the death of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, who was killed by a fall from his horse, on the 9th of October. Soon after, hearing that the king of Hungary had entered Italy, he wrote to his legate, to forbid him, under pain of excommunication, to seize any of the territories belonging to the apostolic see. The king replied, that the kingdom of Naples belonged to him by right of his grandfather Charles Martel, and that he did not regard an unjust excommunication, as God, who was superior to the pope, knew the justice of his cause [e]. A few months after Jane, queen of Naples, arrived at Avignon, having fled from the resentment of the king of Hungary. She pleaded her cause with such eloquence before the consistory, and in the presence of the Hungarian deputies, that the pope declared her innocent of the murder of her husband, and confirmed her marriage with Lewis, duke of Tarento, nephew of the late king Robert, her grandfather. At the same time he purchased from her the city of Avignon, with all its territory, for eighty thousand florins of gold [f]; though some authors assert, that the sale was only pretended, and that Jane gave the city to the see of Rome, to procure the favour of the pope. Others allow the sale to be real, but say, that the price was paid by remitting the annal tribute due by the queen for the kingdom of Naples [g]. As the plague raged in a most violent degree in Italy, and other countries of Europe, Clement granted a general indulgence to all those who were penitent, and confessed their sins, and to the priests who attended and administered the sacraments to the sick, supporting at his own charge those that were seized with the distemper at Avignon; and, to prevent the dead from lying unburied,

A.D. 1348.

Jane, queen of Naples, arrives at Avignon;

sells that city to the see of Rome.

A great plague rages in Europe.

[d] Villan. cap. 89. & 104. Petrarch. de Reb. Famil. Bzov.
[e] Villan. cap. 206. [f] Spond. Annal. [g] Bzov. hoc an. Vit. Clement. a Bosqueto edit.

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he hired people to carry them to a field which he had purchaſed for that purpoſe [g] (H).

A.D. 1349. As the Jews, in conſequence of this plague, were maſſacred in great numbers in Germany and Poland, Clement publiſhed a bull in their favour, which, however, did not ſtop the fury of the people, who accuſed them of being the authors of their calamity, and for two years continued to perſecute them and put them to death without any diſtinction of age or ſex. Mean while, in order to remove the calamity, the ſuperſtitious ſect of Fagellants again appeared, and from Hungary marched in troops through Upper and Lower Germany, Poland, France, England, and other countries, their numbers increaſing as they went along. Both men and women marched naked to the waiſt, and ſcourged themſelves twice a day, and once during the night. Notwithſtanding this great appearance of penitence and mortification, their ſect is ſaid to have been compoſed of the moſt profligate people, and to have profeſſed abſurd and pernicious doctrines. They aſſerted that the Goſpel ceaſed upon their appearing, that their ſcourging was preferable to martyrdom, and that the blood which they loſt by that exerciſe mixed with the blood of Chriſt; that if any one ſcourged himſelf for thirty days, the guilt and puniſhment of his ſins would be forgiven. The pope publiſhed a bull, prohibiting all Chriſtians from uſing thoſe public ſcourgings, in conſequence of which ſeveral princes publiſhed edicts againſt them, as diſturbers of the

The ſect of Flagellants revives.

g Spond. Annal. Matth. Villan. cap. 4.

(H) A great many authors give an account of this plague, which is ſaid to have appeared firſt in the kingdom of Kathay, in the year 1346, and to have proceeded gradually weſtward to Conſtantinople and Egypt. From Conſtantinople it paſſed into Greece, Italy, France, Spain, and Africa, and by degrees along the coaſts of the ocean into Britain and Ireland, and afterwards into Germany, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, and the other northern kingdoms. According to Antoninus, archbiſhop of Florence, the diſtemper carried off ſixty thouſand people in that city, among whom was the hiſtorian John Villani (1).

(1) Cantacuz. lib. iv. cap. 8. Anton. tit. xxi. cap. 8. ſect. 3. Petrar. de Reb. Senil. ad Boccat. & Rer. Famil. lib. viii. Epiſt. 7. Marian. lib. xvi. cap. 13. Naucler. Genr. 44. Walſing. in Edw. III.

public

public peace, so that in a short time they were totally dispersed [h].

What Spondanus thinks of much greater efficacy in removing the general calamity, was a bull published by the pope on the 10th of April, appointing a jubilee to be held the following year at Rome, promising a full remission of all their sins to those penitents who should visit the churches of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John di Lateran. About this time Cantacuzenus, who had seized the empire of Constantinople, sent ambassadors to the pope, to justify himself from the false accusation of having made an alliance with the Turks, and exhorting his holiness and the princes of Europe to undertake an expedition into Asia against those infidels. Clement received the ambassadors with honour, and, upon their return, sent two bishops with them to Constantinople, declaring, that he accepted of the emperor's excuses, and desiring him to procure an union of the Greek church with that of Rome. Cantacuzenus, in return, wrote to the pope, expressing his desire of an union, but proposed, that a general council of the eastern and western bishops should assemble in some city near the sea coast, where both the pope and he himself might be present [i].

The Greek emperor sends an embassy to the pope.

Mean while the jubilee commenced at Rome, where, notwithstanding the plague still raged with great violence in several parts of Europe, such numbers of people assembled, that, from Christmas to Easter, there were continually from a million to twelve hundred thousand foreigners in Rome [k]. Scarce the tenth part of those pilgrims returned home; for they were cut off by the plague, or the fatigues of the long journey [l]. The Romans, with great rapacity, practised all manner of extortion upon them; and were so exasperated against the cardinal legate for dispensing with the time of visitation, that they attacked him and his retinue in the streets; and, as he endeavoured to shun their violence by retiring into Campania, he was poisoned, with several of his relations, upon the road. Mean while Clement being informed that the archbishop of Milan, who, since the death of his brother Luchino, was both spiritual and temporal sovereign in that city, had seized Bologna, and annexed it to his dominion,

A.D. 1350.

A jubilee celebrated at Rome.

[h] Trithem. in Chron. Hirsang. Naucler. Gener. 45. Walsing. in Edw. III.
[i] Cantacuzen. lib. iv. cap. 9. Spond. Annal.
[k] Matth. Villani, ap. Murator, tom. xiv. lib. i. cap. 56.
[l] Meyer, lib. xiii.

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he laid the city of Milan under an interdict, and summoned the archbishop and his nephews to appear at Avignon. The archbishop neglecting the citation, Clement excommunicated him and his adherents; and afterwards, hearing that he solicited the assistance of the Gibellines, he sent the bishop of Ferrara as his legate into Italy, to form a league among the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany for their mutual defence, and the protection of the church.

The archbishop of Milan is excommunicated for seizing Bologna.

In the mean time his legate at Naples having concluded a truce betwixt the king of Hungary and queen Jane, it was agreed that all hostilities should cease till April next, and that the cause of Jane in the mean time should be again examined by the apostolic see. Accordingly her cause was re-examined before the consistory, who admitted of her excuse, namely, that she was under the power of witchcraft or incantation, which prevented her from loving her husband. This plea being confirmed by witnesses, the benevolent judges declared her innocent of all actions subsequent to that incantation; in which decision the king of Hungary, after some difficulty, at last acquiesced [m]. This affair being determined, Clement, upon a complaint from the king of France that the English had broke the truce, sent two legates to accommodate the differences betwixt the two kings; but their mediation having no effect, the war was renewed. The parliament of England, finding no redress from the pope of the grievances they had formerly complained of, decreed, that whoever should accept of any benefice in England from the gift of the pope, should be punished with perpetual imprisonment: that, upon a vacancy, if the patrons neglected four months to supply the benefice, their right should devolve to the king. They likewise ordained, that the king should supply those benefices then enjoyed by foreigners residing in France, and annulled the grants of money made by the pope to some cardinals from the provinces of Canterbury and York [n]. The act, however, was rendered ineffectual by the opposition of the legates and the archbishop of Canterbury [o].

A.D. 1351.

The queen of Naples declared innocent of the murder of her husband.

At this time great disturbances happened at Rome, in consequence of the wealth the Romans had acquired the year before, by the concourse of foreigners. The bishop of Orviele, the vicar of the pope, finding his authority despised, fled to the Capitol, but he was expelled from

[m] Villan. lib. ii cap. 24. Summont. lib. iii. [n] Naucler. Gen 46. [o] Harpsfield, Hist. Eccles. Angl. secul. 14. cap. 5.

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thence by James Savelli, of the faction of the Colonnæ, and the city continued for some time without any governor. At length the people chose one John Cerro, an eminent plebeian, as their rector or chief, and, in contempt of the nobility, obliged the vicar to confirm their choice [p]. During these disturbances, Clement received an embassy from the emperor Charles, informing him of his intention of entering Italy to receive the imperial crown, and promising to attach himself to the party of the Guelphs. Soon after deputies arrived at Avignon from the allied cities of Italy, complaining of the hostilities of Visconti, and desiring the assistance of the pope. Clement received the deputies very graciously, though he was not a little disconcerted upon their arrival, as he had entered into a private negociation with Visconti, who, by the influence of his money, had procured the interest of a great many cardinals, and by the same means had purchased the intercession of the king of France. The pope, that he might seem disinterested, proposed the choice of three things to the deputies, either to conclude a peace with the archbishop, or a league with the church against him, or, lastly, to invite the emperor to their assistance. They being informed of the archbishop's interest with the pope, referred the choice of the three expedients to his holiness; who accordingly absolved the archbishop from the censures denounced against him, and granted him and his successors the vicariate of Bologna for twelve years, on condition of paying a yearly tribute of twelve thousand florins for the holy see, and one hundred thousand florins for the expences of the war; but, that the interest of the allies might not seem neglected, a truce was concluded betwixt them and Visconti for twelve months [q]. Visconti seems to have been determined to this accommodation from an apprehension of the emperor's arrival in Italy; for, before that expedition was mentioned, he treated the pope with the greatest contempt (I).

A.D. 1352.

Visconti purchases a peace with the holy see.

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[p] Villan. lib. ii. cap. 47.

[q] Idem, lib. iii. cap. 4, & 5.

(I) A letter, supposed to be written by the archbishop of Milan, was dropped in the consistory, and addressed to the pope. It was dated from the Middle of Hell, and, in the name of the Prince of Darkness thanked his vicar the pope, and his counsellors and cardinals, for their great services, exhorting them to a steady perseverance in their present course, that they might be intitled to a full reward in his kingdom. Then, mentioning the particular vices of each

The allied cities of Italy enter into a treaty with the emperor.

The allied cities in Italy, being thus abandoned by the pope, entered into an alliance with the emperor, who promised to enter Italy with six thousand horse, and to attack the territories of Visconti, the allies stipulating to join his army with three thousand horse, and to grant him a subsidy of two hundred thousand florins of gold [r]. Clement survived this transaction but a few months, and died at Avignon in the beginning of December. From his regard to the kings of France, he granted them a power of communicating under both kinds, whenever they pleased to desire the eucharist [s]. He likewise moderated the rigour of the constitution of Gregory X. with regard to the cardinals, when shut up in the conclave at an election. He is accused of having conferred honours and dignities upon his relations without measure, or regard to their merit, having created his nephew Peter a cardinal when only seventeen years of age.

Clement dies at Avignon.

Innocent VI. elected pope.

The cardinals, upon the death of Clement, being informed that the king of France was hastening to Avignon to have a pope chosen in his interest, thought proper to prevent him. On the 18th of the same month they chose Stephen Albert, bishop of Ostia, who took the name of Innocent VI. and, immediately after his consecration, wrote to all the Christian princes, informing them of his promotion (K). He suspended, and afterwards annulled,

A.D.1353.

[r] Villan. cap. 6, 7.

[s] Henriq. lib. de Eucharist. cap. 44. sect. 7.

each of them, he chid them for allowing their doctrine to differ from their life, and exhorted them for the future to teach as they lived.

(K) Innocent VI. was born in Limosin in France, and, being bred to the law, he was for some time a proctor or attorney, and then a judge, at Thoulouse. Entering afterwards into orders, he was successively bishop of Meaux, Clermont, and Cambray, and by Clement VI. was created a cardinal-priest, and afterwards bishop of Ostia, and major penitentiary.

In an ancient chronicle of the Carthusians it is mentioned, that when the majority of the cardinals were determined to elect John Birell, the general of that order, as pope, they were dissuaded by a cardinal of Perigord, who knowing John to be a man of great justice and sanctity, declared that, if he were elected pope, their fine mules would in a few days be drawing in the carts, as he was a professed enemy to worldly pomp and ambition. The cardinals, alarmed at this intimation, altered their resolution, and chose Innocent (1).

(1) Spond. Annal. ex Antiq. Cod.

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the grants of reversion of benefices given by his predecessor Clement; commanding all prelates, and other ecclesiastical persons, to repair to their churches, under the pain of an anathema, declaring, that flocks ought to be kept by their own shepherds, and not by hirelings [t]. Being intent upon reforming his own court, he reprehended the cardinals for their luxurious lives, and ordered them to follow the example of frugality set by himself. As the ecclesiastical state was at this time wholly usurped by different princes, and the city of Rome a scene of confusion and uproar, the Romans, upon account of a great dearth, having stoned their senator to death, Innocent sent cardinal Ægidius Alvarus, a Spaniard, descended from the ancient kings of Leon, as his legate into Italy, appointing him vicar over all the ecclesiastical state, with full power of assembling an army, and opposing the unjust possessors of the territories of the church. Together with the legate, Innocent sent Nicholas Rienzo, the former tribune, to oppose the designs of Francis Baroncelli at Rome, who, supported by the favour of the people, had expelled the nobility, assumed the title of Tribune II. and Roman Consul; and, throwing off the authority of the pope, had invited the Gibellines to an alliance [u]. Not only Rome, but almost all Italy, was at this period desolated by intestine wars. Though the allied cities in Tuscany, being disappointed in their succours from the emperor, had concluded a peace with the Visconti, yet several other cities had formed a new league against him. The Venetians and Genoese were engaged in a most destructive war, which was carried on with great animosity. While the pope's legate had assembled an army at Monte Fiascone against John de Vico, who had usurped a great part of the territories of the church, one friar Moriale, a Provençal, and knight Hospitaller, headed an army of freebooters, who acknowleged no faction. This knight had served the king of Hungary in his Neapolitan war, and, after his accommodation with queen Jane, had entered into the service of the church; but, not being able to recover his arrears of pay, he now deserted that party, and, by offering large pay to those who would serve under him, he quickly assembled an army of two thousand men, composed of Germans, French, and Provençals, who were dispersed through different parts of Italy. This army of banditti were called the Grand Company of the March

A legate sent into Italy.

[t] Plat. in Vita Innocent VI. [u] Villan. lib. iii. cap. 7?.

of

of Ancona, which province was the first scene of their exploits. Their numbers continually increasing, they formed themselves into a military society, appointing a council, secretaries, quæstors, and other magistrates, and put garrisons into several cities which they made themselves masters of [w]. Mean while the Romans received Nicholas Rienzo with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Baroncelli, after a government of a few months, being put to death, they conferred the tribuneship on Nicholas, and sent deputies to the legate at Monte Fiascone, acknowleging their submission to the church.

Rienzo again created tribune of Rome.

During these commotions in Italy, Innocent, being informed that a great many heretics had fled from the mountains of Yverdon in Calabria, wrote to the king of Naples, and to the inquisitor, to proceed against them. He likewise sent a cardinal legate to the king of England, exhorting him to a reconciliation with the king of France. As the Christians of the East were, at this time, harrassed by the incursions of the Turks, Innocent granted the third part of the tithes of the churches of Germany, France, Bohemia, Greece, and other provinces, for their assistance; and ordered the master of the knights of Rodes to succour the city of Smyrna, at that time attacked by the Turks. Soon after he received an embassy from Stephen, king of Rascia, complaining that certain Greek bishops disturbed the peace of his kingdom, by deposing some bishops and abbots of the Roman communion, and obliging some others to repeat their baptism and confirmation. He likewise intreated the pope to send some learned and religious men into his kingdom, to reform all abuses, and that the king might be appointed by the holy see captain against the Turks. Innocent thanked the king for his zeal, nominated him captain according to his desire, and appointed the bishop of Traw as his legate, to extirpate the errors and abuses in that kingdom.

A.D. 1354.

The pope receives an embassy from the king of Rascia.

This embassy of the king appeared afterwards to be only a pretence, to prevent his being invaded by Lewis, king of Hungary, who had formed pretensions to his kingdom [x]. About this time Abdallah, one of the kings of Mauritania, wrote to the pope, offering to embrace the Christian faith; but the professions in his letter, as appeared afterwards, were not sincere, but designed only to procure him the assistance of the Christians against some of his neighbouring princes, with whom he was at war. Innocent wrote

Another from the king of Mauritania.

[w] Villan. cap. 81 & 89. [x] Bzov. ann. 1356.

to

to him to persevere in his good intentions, and, at the same time, hearing that Peter, king of Castile, had prevailed with two of his bishops to grant him a divorce from his queen, and had married the widow of one of his nobles, he wrote to the king, reproaching him with the heinousness of his crime. He also ordered his nuncio in that kingdom to oblige the king to recall his queen, and, in case of his refusal, to proceed against him by ecclesiastical censures. Mean while, two Franciscans being brought prisoners from Montpellier to Avignon, for disputing concerning the poverty of Christ and his apostles, contrary to the definition of John XXII. Innocent ordered them to be examined: and, as they refused to recant their doctrine, and affirmed, that the opinion of pope John was a heresy, they were delivered to the civil magistrate, and publicly burnt [y].

Soon after this transaction the pope received an embassy from the emperor Charles, who, in the beginning of November, had entered Lombardy with a small army. As the ambassador made a demand of the imperial crown for his master, Innocent wrote a long letter to Charles, excusing himself from going to Rome on the occasion of his coronation, but promising to commission some of the cardinals to perform that ceremony. He likewise wrote to his legate Ægidius to assist the emperor with the troops of the church, and to dispose the Romans to receive him in an honourable manner, they having a few months before revolted against their tribune Rienzo, and put him to death. Charles, in the mean time, residing at Mantua, tried to conclude a peace betwixt the confederates of Tuscany and the nephews of the archbishop Visconti, whom that prelate, who died a few weeks before, had left heirs of his extensive conquests. As he had no forces to compel the parties to agree to an accommodation, his endeavours were ineffectual; however, having granted several articles unworthy of his dignity, he effected a truce betwixt them till the month of May following. Proceeding to Milan, he was crowned with the iron crown in that city on the 6th of January; and, receiving some money from the Visconti, for confirming to them the vicariate of the empire in the territories they then possessed, he went from thence with great dispatch for Pisa. Innocent, in consequence of the embassy of the emperor,

The emperor enters Italy,

A.D. 1355.

and is crowned king of Lombardy at Milan.

[y] Rebdorff in Annal. Walsing. in Edw. III.

appointed the cardinal-bishop of Ostia to perform the ceremony of the consecration, together with two other cardinals who solicited that office. As the conclave refused to bear the expences of the cardinals, and Charles was not able, those two who were so earnest in soliciting the deputation, refused to go, on which account the pope appointed the legate Ægidius to assist Bertrandi, bishop of Ostia, who, having received his commission in the beginning of February, set out for Italy, and joined the emperor at Pisa [z].

Receives the imperial crown from cardinal Bertrandi at Rome.

Charles, leaving Pisa, arrived in the neighbourhood of Rome with an army of five thousand Germans and ten thousand Italians; and, having appointed Easter for the day of his coronation, he, on Good Friday, with some of his nobles, entered the city in the habit of pilgrims, and took a view of the principal edifices and churches. Two days after he marched into the city in a grand procession; and, being received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, was crowned emperor by cardinal Bertrandi, in the church of St. Peter. According to his promise to the pope, he marched out of the city the same day, and refused to accept of the government of Rome offered him by the Romans. It appearing from this particular, and from his after conduct, that he quite abandoned all the rights of the empire in Italy, he quickly lost his reputation, and was treated with great indignity by those who, if he had asserted his own rights, would have been his firmest friends. At Sienna he held a long conference with the pope's legate; and, instead of accepting of the allegiance of the Gibellines, granted some troops to Ægidius to assist him in quelling that faction. Finding himself odious to the Italians, he quitted that kingdom, and, in the month of July, retired with about two thousand men into Germany [a].

The grand company of Ancona ravages Italy.

While the emperor was thus dishonouring himself by his conduct in Italy, the grand company of Ancona having lost their chief, Moriale, who was surprised and executed by the tribune Rienzo at Rome, they conferred the command on the count di Lando. After having served several months in the pay of the Lombard states, they marched into Romagna, demanding a contribution of thirty thousand florins of gold; but, upon receiving twelve thousand, they were prevailed upon to quit that

[z] Villan. lib. iii. cap. 103. lib. iv. cap. 71.

[a] Idem, lib. v. cap. 14, 15. 20, 29.

province,

province, and marched into Ancona. From thence they sent and demanded forty thousand florins of gold from Lewis, king of Naples, and, upon his refusal, they entered his kingdom, and immediately took Pescara, Villa Franca, and San Fabiano, and threatened to join the duke of Durazzo, who was then in rebellion [b]. Mean while great disorders happened at the pope's court at Avignon, the cardinal of Perigord, upon a contest about precedency, having raised a tumult, in which some persons were killed, while other young cardinals took some young married women from their husbands by violence, and kept them publicly in their houses. Innocent being informed of their infamous proceedings, reproved them in the consistory, and threatened to transfer his court to Rome.

About the same time he received an embassy from John Paleologus, who, by the voluntary abdication of his governor, Cantacuzenus, had at length obtained possession of the empire of Constantinople. The emperor solicited earnestly the assistance of the pope and the western princes against the Turks. In order to obtain his request, he promised an entire submission to the apostolic see; to send his eldest son to Avignon, as a security for his fidelity; and to assign a palace in Constantinople for the residence of the pope's nuncio, and three colleges for masters to teach the Latin tongue, which the sons of the Greek nobles should be compelled to learn. Innocent, next year, sent two bishops to Constantinople, and wrote to the emperor to make the same confession before them, in presence of the patriarch and a full assembly. The emperor agreed, without difficulty, to this proposal of the pope, who thereupon wrote to the kings of Cyprus and Hungary, to the doge of Venice, the senate and people of Genoa, and to the master of the knights of Rhodes, desiring them to assist the Greek emperor with arms, men, and money [c].

A.D. 1356.

The Greek emperor solicits the assistance of the pope.

Being informed that the king of France had been defeated by the English at Poictiers, and taken prisoner, with his son, and several of his nobles, he sent the abbot of Cluny, and the cardinal of Perigord, to the emperor Charles, desiring him to intercede for the liberty of the king, and to offer his mediation to conclude a peace betwixt France and England. In consequence of the pope's endeavours to procure a reconciliation, some English de-

[b] Villan. lib. iv cap. 15. 19. 23. 40. 58. 79. & 86. [c] Bzov. & Wadding. hoc ann.

puties arrived at Metz, and were present at a diet held in that city at Christmas, but nothing was concluded on with regard to a peace.

Great confusions in Italy,

Mean while the kingdom of Italy continued still to be desolated by intestine wars, the grand company, under the command of Lando, ravaging and plundering Naples, while the two Visconti at Milan, having poisoned their elder brother, still continued their wars against the other princes or tyrants of Lombardy. Ægidius, the legate, having recovered by arms almost all the patrimony of the church, except Forli and Faenza, which were held by Francis Ordelaffus and John and Richard Manfred, he ordered them and their adherents to be excommunicated, and condemned as heretics, publishing a crusade against them, with the same indulgences as were given to those who fought against the Saracens. Having, by this expedient, greatly increased his army, he soon obliged the two Manfreds to surrender; but Ordelaffus still refused to submit, and, in contempt of his fulminations, made effigies of the pope and cardinals, whom he excommunicated; and, having apprehended some of the crusaders, he imprinted the figure of a cross, with a red-hot iron, upon the soles of their feet. He was encouraged in his opposition by the Visconti, who were jealous of the growing authority of the legate. Seizing the priest whom he had sent to publish the crusade in Milan, he ordered him to be enclosed in an iron grate, and roasted to death, expelling, likewise, the bishop of Parma, who had granted him his protection. Their troops at the same time ravaging the neighbouring states, several cities of Lombardy entered into a league against them, and took into their pay the grand company of Lando, who, having received a large sum from the king of Naples, had quitted that kingdom, and were then ravaging the territory of Ravenna. The emperor also, being desirous of humbling the Visconti, had left the bishop of Augusta at Pisa, with a secret commission, as his vicar in Italy, ordering him not to act unless he saw a probability of success. The bishop, who had a great reputation in military affairs, thought proper, at this time, to publish his commission; and, being appointed general of the grand company, and the other troops of the confederates, he summoned the Visconti to answer for the many outrages they had committed against the empire and the church. They despising his citation, he advanced with his troops, and ravaged the territory of Milan;

which is ravaged by the troops of the Visconti.

Milan; but, being surprised by the Visconti, he was, after a desperate engagement, entirely defeated and taken prisoner, together with Lando, and several other officers [d]. To complete the devastation of Italy, this year, according to Villani, the Turks first invaded that kingdom, at the invitation of one of the nobles of Romagna. Having landed their troops from seventy vessels, and a great many smaller barks, they ravaged the country in a miserable manner, and reimoarked without opposition [e]. *Italy likewise ravaged by the Turks.*

The pope being informed that Peter, king of Castile, had seized the revenues of cardinal Ægidius in his kingdom, from a persuasion that this prelate had been the chief adviser of the ecclesiastical censures which were denounced against him, Innocent reprehended the king for this violence, and declared, that, as the cardinals were employed, together with the pope, in governing the universal church, they ought to be reputed as residing upon their benefices [f]. As Peter was likewise at war with the king of Arragon, and they had both called in the Moors to their assistance, Innocent sent a cardinal, as his legate, into Spain, who concluded a truce betwixt the two kings for fifteen months. But the truce being quickly violated by the king of Castile, the legate pronounced a sentence of excommunication against him, and laid his kingdom under an interdict. A.D. 1357.

SECT. XI.

A general Revolt in Italy against the Pope's Authority. A Schism in the Church.

DURING these proceedings of the legate in Spain, Innocent was alarmed with the progress of a numerous troop of banditti, commanded by one Arnold of Gascony, an arch-priest, who, in imitation of the grand company in Italy, ravaged the southern parts of France, and raised contributions upon the people. As they approached Avignon, the pope caused the city to be fortified against their attempts; but he was freed from his alarms by a message from Arnold, declaring, that he had no intention to invade his territories [g]. About the same *Innocent fortifies Avignon against an army of robbers.*

[d] Villan. lib. vi. cap. 23. 28. 75. [e] Villan. cap. 30. [f] Bzov. hoc ann. [g] Villan. lib. vii. cap. 87, & 96. lib. viii. cap. 8. 54. 96.

time Innocent recalled his legate, Ægidius, from Italy, and sent Androinus, abbot of Clugny, as his successor; but as Ægidius had provided every thing for the attack of Ordelaffus, he was prevailed upon by the abbot to continue with the army for several months, during which time he reduced Cesena, with several other towns. Having, by money and ecclesiastical censures, prevailed upon the grand company of Lando, which was sent against him, to return to Lombardy, in the month of August he laid siege to Forli, and, leaving the management of the rest of the war to Androinus, he returned to Avignon, where he was received with great honours by the pope
A.D. 1358. and the cardinals. Androinus having continued the siege for some time after the departure of Ægidius, was at length obliged to raise it by the approach of winter, and the vigorous defence of the besieged. In the beginning of the spring he again invested the city; but Ordelaffus, during the winter, having strengthened the garrison with part of Lando's company, his efforts to gain the place were rendered ineffectual.

The grand company are defeated.

While his army was engaged in the siege of Forli, the grand company, intending to pass into Tuscany, contrary to a treaty that they had made with the Florentines, were defeated in the passes of the Apennines by the inhabitants of those mountains, and Lando himself was taken prisoner. The two peasants, who had seized Lando, being prevailed upon by a promise of two thousand florins to set him at liberty, he immediately repaired to the remains of his company in Romagna, and being greatly exasperated against the Florentines, he used all means to reinforce his company, with the intention of invading Tuscany, and ravaging the territories of Florence. Androinus, in the mean time, being obliged to raise the siege of Forli, and being unsuccessful in several other attempts, Innocent again sent Ægidius into Italy. About the same time the bishop of Ely in England arriving at Avignon, and complaining that he had been tried and imprisoned by the king's judges, contrary to the privileges of ecclesiastics, the pope ordered the whole process to be transmitted to him by the judges, under pain of excommunication if they refused. The judges not only refused to obey the pope's mandate, but one of them even imprisoned his nuncio; which outrage Innocent being informed of, he immediately excommunicated them, ordering the bishop of Lincoln, and some other prelates, not to allow the bodies of the judges, if they should die, to be buried in consecrated ground.

ground. This presumption of the pope greatly offended the king; and, soon after, having apprehended some persons who had delivered an apostolic letter to his treasurer, he ordered them to be put to death [g].

The usurpations of the see of Rome this year likewise met with an opposition in Germany, where Innocent had sent the bishop of Cavaillon, as his nuncio, to raise the tithe of all the ecclesiastical revenues for the use of the apostolic see. This extraordinary subsidy was refused by the clergy of Triers, Mentz, and Cologne; and, next year the emperor held a diet of the princes of the empire at Mentz, to deliberate upon the demand of the pope. With the consent of the princes, Charles declared to the nuncio, that the clergy of Germany could not submit to the proposed tax. Innocent dissembled his resentment for the denial of the tithe, and sent other nuncios into the provinces of the empire, with orders to collect the half of the revenue of all vacant benefices for two years, for the use of the apostolic see. Thinking the ecclesiastical liberty violated by the endeavours of the emperor to reform the clergy, he wrote to Charles, commending him for his zeal, but at the same time desiring him to desist from the secular sequestration of benefices, and to restore those that were already confiscated, contenting himself with desiring the prelates to chastise their irregular clergy. He likewise wrote to all the archbishops of Germany, ordering them to correct and punish their clergy who were guilty of irregularities. In consequence of these letters of the pope, the emperor soon after published a bull, annulling all that had been done against the ecclesiastics, and confirming to them, under the notion of privileges, a great many exemptions, incompatible with the welfare of society [h]. Having thus gratified the pope, he sent to him, desiring him to cancel some bulls in the Clementine constitutions, that were derogatory to the honour of the empire. It was not the temper of the court of Rome to part with any usurpation; accordingly Innocent replied, that as those bulls were part of the canon law, and publicly taught in the schools, he could not suppress them [i].

A.D 1359.

Innocent is refused the tithe of the ecclesiastical revenue in Germany.

Mean while Androinus, abbot of Cluny, having returned from Italy, was sent as legate to reconcile the kings of France and England; an aim which he at last effected,

[g] Walsing. in Edw. III. Harpsfield, secul. 14. cap. 29. [h] Mag. Chron. Belg. sub Carol. IV. Tom. Rer. Germ. Lindenburg. [i] Rainald. ad ann. 1359.

A.D. 1360. peace being concluded by his mediation on the 8th of May, and confirmed by the apostolic see in the month of October. By this peace the king of France obtained his liberty, on condition of paying three millions of gold; but, as his kingdom was greatly exhausted by the long and destructive war, to raise part of this money he condescended to contract an alliance with the Visconti of Milan, giving his daughter Isabel to John, the son of Galeas Visconti, for six hundred thousand florins of gold. While Galeas was thus employed in aggrandizing his family by an alliance with France, his brother Barnabo was besieging the city of Bologna, which, notwithstanding the treaty lately concluded betwixt his uncle and the pope, the legate Ægidius had made himself master of. As the forces of Barnabo were very numerous, the pope solicited the assistance of the emperor against him; he likewise invited the king of Hungary to succour the church; and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the two Visconti, and their adherents. Galeas Visconti declaring that he did not approve of his brother's proceedings, was quickly absolved from the sentence; but Bernabo, despising the pope's fulmination, ordered three other places belonging to the church, to be besieged at the same time; by which means he obliged the pope to an accommodation, and to consent to pay him a tribute of twenty thousand florins for five years. This peace was quickly broken by Bernabo, who again besieged Bologna, and renewed his hostilities against other places of the ecclesiastical state. The pope finding himself still too weak to oppose his arms, again solicited the emperor to interest himself in the affairs of Italy in behalf of the church; while his legate Ægidius went into Hungary to procure assistance from that kingdom. Charles, at the solicitation of the pope, published an imperial edict, ordering Bernabo to desist from hostilities, under pain of being deprived of all the dignities he had received from the empire. But as this edict was not supported by any troops, it was despised by Bernabo; however, Galeot Malatesta soon after, having entered Bologna with a strong reinforcement, made a successful sally against the enemy, and obliged him to raise the siege.

The pope's legate concludes a peace between France and England.

Bernabo Visconti besieges Bologna.

Great commotions in Rome.

During these disturbances in Lombardy, the city of Rome was again divided into factions, occasioned by the fickleness and instability of the people in the change of senators, who were neither contented with nobles nor plebeians in that dignity. To put an end to those divisions, the pope ordered his legate to appoint a stranger as their

senator;

senator; accordingly that dignity was conferred for six months on Raimund of Sienna. The Romans were quickly disgusted with this form of government, and chose for themselves seven reformers of the commonwealth; but the pope disapproving of their proceedings, appointed the king of Cyprus as their senator, who had come into Europe to demand assistance against the Turks. The king dying soon after, the bishop of Fermo was appointed rector of Rome, and the count of Fondi was ordered to quell the seditious by arms [k]. Mean while, the kingdom of France being ravaged by great troops of robbers, who plundered the provinces under different leaders, Innocent, being apprehensive they would attack Avignon, ordered a crusade to be preached against them, and appointed the bishop of Ostia as general of the crusaders [l]. Next year the plague again appeared in several places in Europe, and in Egypt and Syria. In Milan it raged with great violence; and carried off eleven cardinals and a great number of people at Avignon. Innocent himself died on the 13th of September. A few months before his death, the Romans having revolted against their governor, and chosen one Lelius Bonadota, a shoemaker, as their senator, he, by the assistance of the people, expelled the greatest part of the nobility and gentlemen from the city: but as the exiles assembled an army to revenge themselves on the opposite faction, the Romans again submitted to the pope, on condition that cardinal Ægidius should not have any authority over them (L).

A D. 1362.

Innocent dies at Avignon.

A few days after the death of Innocent, the cardinals, to the number of twenty, entered the conclave to chuse a successor. Fifteen gave their votes for a cardinal of the order of St. Benedict; but he refusing to accept of the pontificate, the cardinals, on the 28th of October, unanimously chose William Grimoaldi, a Benedictine, and abbot

Urban V. is elected pope.

[k] Blond. dec. ii. lib. x. Villan. lib. ix. cap. 87. Bzov. hoc ann.
[l] Froissard. lib. i. cap. 214, 215. Walsing. in Edw. III.

(L) Innocent, before his promotion to the pontificate, was persuaded by the insinuations of some people, that the famous Petrarch was addicted to magical arts; but, being afterwards undeceived, he solicited him, by letters and presents, to come to Avignon to be his secretary. Petrarch excused himself from accepting of that honour on account of his great age, and his love for a retired life (1).

(1) Petrar. lib. i. senil. 3.

of

of St. Victor of Marseilles. As the abbot was then absent in Italy, the cardinals wrote to him to come immediately to Avignon, but concealed his election till his arrival; a few days after which on the 7th of November, he was consecrated pope, and took the name of Urban V. Having, according to custom, informed the emperor, and other kings and princes, of his promotion, he immediately ordered all the bishops at Avignon to return to their own sees, and published severe edicts against luxury in dress, as he himself continued to wear his monastic habit underneath his pontifical ornaments, and never deviated from the austerities of his order. He likewise abolished a privilege which the cardinals claimed, of affording a sanctuary in their houses to those who fled thither after committing any atrocious crime. A few weeks after his promotion he received a visit from the king of France; together with that prince came the deputies of Bernabo of Milan, who desired a peace with the holy see. Urban refused to grant their request, unless Bernabo would restore all the territories that he had usurped from the see of Rome, and, by a true penitence, declare his submission to the church. Continuing firm in his resolution, notwithstanding the intercession of the king of France, that prince departed dissatisfied from Avignon. Urban soon after published a bull against Bernabo, accusing him of heresy and schism, and many other horrid crimes; and ordering him, under pain of excommunication, to justify himself before the 1st of March. This bull was sent to the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops of Italy, and published at Florence on the 29th of January; but Bernabo neglecting the citation, Urban, on the 4th of March, held a public consistory, in which he declared him excommunicated, and deprived, together with all his posterity, of all honour and jurisdiction [m]. He likewise freed his wife, as being a Christian woman, from the bond of marriage, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and granted indulgences to all those who would take up the cross against him. By this severity Urban greatly offended the king of France, who had returned to Avignon to intercede for Bernabo; he likewise disgusted several cardinals, who received secret pensions from the Visconti to support their interest at the court of Avignon. Bernabo, in contempt of this sentence, marched with an army into the territory of Modena against the confede-

A.D. 1363

He excommunicates and deposes Bernabo.

[m] Villan. cap. 31. 41. 44. Spond. Annal.

rates;

rates; but his troops, from too great security, allowing themselves to be surprised, were defeated with great loss.

The kings of France, Denmark, and Cyprus, take the cross.

About the time he received this check in Italy, the king of France, with Peter, king of Cyprus, and Waldemar III. king of Denmark, being at Avignon, mutually bound themselves to undertake an expedition against the Turks within two years, and, together with many other nobles, received the cross from the hands of the pope. This crusade was owing to the solicitation of the king of Cyprus, whose kingdom had been for several years ravaged by the Turks. The pope wrote to the emperor and the German nobles exhorting them to undertake an expedition against the infidels; but his letters had no effect upon Charles, who was then threatened with a war from the king of Hungary. As both parties were preparing for hostilities, Urban sent a nuncio into Bohemia and Hungary to prevent a rupture, by whose meditation Charles was prevailed upon to give satisfaction to the king of Hungary. and promised to marry his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Bogeslaus, duke of Pomerania. Accordingly, the marriage was celebrated at Cracow with great magnicence.

Peace concluded betwixt the emperor and the king of Hungary.

A.D. 1364.

A peace betwixt the pope and Bernabo.

A peace was likewise concluded betwixt the pope and Bernabo Visconti, owing chiefly to his defeat at Modena, and an edict of the emperor, who, from his usual complaisance to the pope, had ordered all the vicars of the empire to join their arms to those of the legate. The kings of France and Cyprus likewise acting as mediators, Androinus, lately created a cardinal, was sent to Milan, and concluded a treaty in the beginning of March, by which Bernabo ceded all the forts which he possessed in the territories of Bologna, Modena, and Romagna, to the holy see. The pope absolved him from the sentence of excommunication, and, in consideration of the forts lately built, promised to pay him five hundred thousand florins of gold within eight years; but this peace was of short duration. Mean while the grand companies still increasing in France, Urban renewed his menaces and fulminations against them, in consequence of which several parties of them were routed; the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, of various nations, were prevailed upon to march into Spain to the assistance of Henry, who had rebelled against his brother the king of Castile [o].

[o] Froissard. lib. i. cap. 230. Petrar. Senil. lib. vii.

In

A.D. 1365. In the course of the following year, Urban sent a legate to the emperor of Constantinople, to exhort him to an union with the Roman church, and to preach up a crusade against the Turks and Saracens. As John Lusignan, a relation of the king of Cyprus, at this time raised pretensions to the kingdom of Armenia, which he claimed by hereditary right, Urban also wrote to the prelates and nobles of that kingdom in favour of John, and exhorted them to reject the errors of the Nestorians, and others, and to embrace the purity of the catholic faith[p]. The emperor Charles, about this time, arrived at Avignon, and was honourably received by the pope, with whom he had several private conferences. According to Corius, Urban likewise crowned Charles, king of Arles, in the city of that name, and promised the empire to his son Wenceslaus[q]. Upon their return to Avignon, the pope held a solemn assembly, at which were present, besides the emperor, Peter, king of Cyprus, and several other princes. Peter proposed to attack the infidels in Egypt; but the emperor opposed his opinion, and offered to march at the head of an army against Amurath, emperor of the Turks, who, by the assistance of the Genoese, had passed the Hellespont, and entered Thrace with an army of a hundred thousand men. This proposal was opposed by the count of Savoy, who declared, that it was more necessary to retake Gallipoli, and by that measure cut off supplies from those Turks that had already entered Europe. The different opinions of the princes prevented any general enterprize from being concluded upon; Charles, however, promised to march into Italy at the head of army, to reduce the Visconti, in consideration of which engagement the pope granted him the tithes of the ecclesiastical revenues in Bohemia and Germany.

The pope sends a legate to the emperor of Constantinople;

The princes retiring from Avignon to their different dominions, Urban soon after published a bull, ordering all the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, in Christendom, to hold provincial councils for restoring ecclesiastical discipline. For that purpose he commanded all prelates, under pain of excommunication, to reside in their proper dioceses, and to apply themselves diligently to the pastoral charge[r]. Having received letters from the emperor of Constantinople, who promised to accomplish the union of the Greek and Latin churches, on condition of receiving

A.D. 1366.

who promises to submit to the Roman church.

[p] Bzov. hoc anno. [q] Corius, par. iii. [r] Til. de Reg. Franc. Meyer. anno 1368.

assistance

assistance from the western princes against the Turks, Urban wrote to him, informing him, that Lewis, king of Hungary was marching with a strong army to his assistance; and that the king of Cyprus, who had sailed from Venice with a considerable army of crusaders, and taken Alexandria, intended to sail from Thrace against the Turks; he then exhorted him not any longer to delay the union, on false pretences, but speedily submit to the Roman church, otherwise he would look upon him and the Greeks as heathens, and would give them no farther assistance. This letter was carried by the count of Savoy, who besieged Varna, the capital of Bulgaria, where the emperor was imprisoned, and took Gallipoli by assault. The emperor having recovered his liberty, went to the king of Hungary at Buda, to whom he promised with an oath, that both he and his sons Manuel and Michael would submit to the Roman church, and fulfil whatever the pope should think necessary for their reconciliation. Urban, being informed of his submission by his chancellor and the bishop of Nitria, wrote to the emperor to persevere in his resolution; and sent him the form of the profession of faith, and abjuration of schism, formerly used by the emperor Palæologus on a like occasion. When the Greek chancellor returned, he likewise sent with him two legates, to complete the union, to exhort the king of Hungary to a sacred expedition [s], and to give his assistance in putting an end to the schism. Lewis seems to have been very zealous in the service of the Roman church; for having conquered Bulgaria, he sent for two thousand Franciscans to convert his new subjects. The vicar of Bosnia sent him eight, who in fifty days baptized upwards of two hundred thousand people [t].

Urban proposes to return to Rome.

Urban, before he attained the pontificate, had expressed a great desire that the residence of the popes might be again transferred to Rome. After his promotion continuing in the same sentiments, which were confirmed by a letter from Petrarch, he this year wrote to the doges of Venice and Genoa, desiring their gallies to conduct him to Rome, it being impossible to enter Italy by land, as the Visconti, who had recommenced hostilities, then guarded the passes of the Alps, with several troops of the banditti who had entered into their service [u]. In the mean time he sent a legate into Spain, to reconcile the kings of Cas-

[s] Spon. Annal. [t] Idem, ex Chron. Minor. [u] Villan. lib. xi. cap. 26. Petrar. Senil. lib. vii.

tile

tile and Arragon; but his journey had no effect, for, besides the war with Arragon, Peter of Castile was attacked by his rebellious subjects, who, being assisted by the banditti from France, obliged him to fly the kingdom.

A.D. 1367. In consequence of the pope's desire, in the beginning of the following year, several gallies arrived at Marseilles from Naples, Venice, Genoa, and Pisa; which circumstance Urban being informed of, he left Avignon on the last day of April, not without a great many reproaches from his court, who had no inclination to return to Italy [w].

He embarks at Marseilles. Having embarked at Marseilles, he arrived at Genoa, and, proceeding next day on his voyage, on the 4th of June, landed at Corneto in Tuscany, where he was met by cardinal Ægidius, and received an embassy from the Romans, with the keys of the castle of St. Angelo. A few

Is received in Italy with great joy. days after he went to Viterbo, the inhabitants of which city received him with great respect; but they soon changed their disposition, and attacked the French cardinals, who were obliged to fly for refuge to the pope's palace. The people quickly repented of their rashness; and, having obtained pardon from the pope, ordered the chiefs of the tumult to be put to death. Urban, after a stay of four months at Viterbo, proceeded to Rome, where he was received by the clergy and the people with the greatest honours. Before he left Viterbo, he concluded an offensive and defensive alliance for seven years with the king of Hungary, the dukes of Austria, and several Italian princes, with the design of opposing the ambition of the Visconti, and securing the quiet possession of the conquests of Ægidius; in consequence of which he was now regarded not as an imaginary, but as a real temporal prince. The pope this year confirmed an order of Jesuits, so called from their frequent mention of the name of Jesus (M).

[w] Petrar. ut sup.

(M) This order was instituted a few years before by John Colombino, a nobleman, who, separating himself by consent from his wife, embraced a life of austerity, and by his fervent discourses, quickly made many proselytes. Having attended the pope from Corneto to Viterbo, he obtained from him the confirmation of his order, and the regulation of the dress of the monks who professed the rule of St. Augustin, and were called the Jesuit friars of St. Jerom (1).

(1) Bergom. lib. xiv.

Being

Being informed that Peter, king of Castile, after defeating the rebels, had again got possession of his kingdom, and exercised great cruelty towards the ecclesiastics, he sent a legate to Spain, who, inviting the king to a conference upon the bank of a river, read the pope's letter, and, from a boat, declared him excommunicated; immediately after which declaration, he made the best of his way down the river, and escaped. The king was so greatly exasperated, that he pursued him into the water on horseback. Returning from his pursuit, he declared, that he would shake off the yoke of the pope, and persuade the kings of Navarre and Arragon to do the same: he threatened likewise to revenge the insult by a war, and made great preparations by sea and land; which Urban being informed of, he thought proper to take off the former censures, and sent a cardinal to Spain, who accommodated all differences, upon certain conditions not very honourable for the holy see[y]. In the beginning of the spring the pope received a visit from Jane, queen of Sicily, and from the king of Cyprus, who were both treated with great honour. Soon after, to avoid the great heats, he retired to Monte Fiascone, where he published a bull against Bernabo Visconti, who continued to ravage Lombardy with great inhumanity.

Difference betwixt him and the king of Castile.

A.D. 1368.

As the pope had long solicited the emperor to enter Italy, and had concluded his bull with imploring his assistance against Bernabo, Charles informed him, that he had assembled an army with an intention of passing the Alps. Being now apprehensive of a visit from the Germans, he desired his nuncio to ask an imperial confirmation of the rights of the church, which was granted without any hesitation by the emperor, in a very ample manner. This security being given, Charles entered Italy with a considerable army, and joined that of the pope, consisting of twenty thousand men. Verona and Vicenza were quickly obliged to surrender, circumstances which determined Bernabo to sue for peace. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which Bernabo agreed to evacuate all the places that belonged to the holy see, or to the Italian nobles, who were vassals and allies of the empire; to give no protection to the banditti that served in his troops; and to appear personally before the pope, to ask pardon for his crimes, and to receive absolution. This treaty being confirmed, the emperor published an edict,

The emperor confirms the rights of the church,

and enters Italy with an army.

[y] Marian. lib. xvii. cap. 10, & seq.

revoking

revoking the privileges of the cities and nobles who had adhered to Bernabo; however, upon receiving considerable sums of money, he made no difficulty of restoring them their ancient rights, with several new privileges. All differences in Lombardy being thus accommodated, Charles proceeded to Viterbo, where he had an interview with Urban, who was then returning to Rome. Upon the pope's arrival in the neighbourhood of that city, the emperor led his horse by the bridle as far as the church of St. Peter. A few days after, the empress arriving at Rome, the pope crowned her at the altar of St. Peter; after which ceremony the emperor retired to Tuscany, where he continued several months; but, finding himself despised by the Italians, he appointed the bishop of Porto as his vicar in Italy, and returned to Germany.

A.D.1369. After the departure of the emperor, Urban published a bull, confirming the liberty of ecclesiastics, prohibiting, under pain of excommunication and interdict, all laymen from punishing the clergy, under any pretence whatever. Next year, while he passed the summer at Viterbo, the Greek emperor arrived at Rome, where, in the presence of the bishop of Ostia, and three other cardinals commissioned by the pope, besides many other witnesses, he made a profession of all the articles of the Roman faith, which doctrine he swore upon the holy Gospels always to acknowlege and believe. Urban immediately hastened to Rome. He was met without the city by Palæologus, who, after having kissed his feet, led his horse by the bridle as far as the Vatican church, where he held the stirrup while his holiness alighted, and afterwards renewed his profession before the altar of St. Peter. In consideration of these concessions, when the emperor began to talk of receiving succours, Urban recommended him to the Venetians and Genoese, and gave him leave to treat with John Hawkwood, an Englishman, who, after the death of Lando, had succeeded to the chief command of the banditti, and had rendered his name formidable in Italy by his military exploits, but was then under a sentence of excommunication on account of the assistance he had given to Visconti, who had again renewed hostilities [z]. The emperor's negociations with Hawkwood had no effect, for that captain preferred the plunder of Italy to the honour of fighting against the Turks. What was the emperor's success with the Venetians and Genoese, is un-

Urban publishes a bull in favour of ecclesiastical liberty.

The Greek emperor arrives at Rome, and abjures the schism.

[z] Spond. Annal. Villan. lib. ix—xi.

certain;

certain; but we find he did not quit Italy till the following year, as there is a bull extant, dated at Rome the 20th of January, wherein he confirms his former profession [a]. After his departure, Urban created William, of Prato, a Franciscan, archbishop of Cambalu, and sent him, with twelve other Franciscans, to preach the gospel in the kingdom of Cathay. He afterwards commissioned sixty other friars of the same order, and wrote to the Great Khan, and to the princes and people of Tartary, exhorting them to embrace the Christian faith. He likewise invited the Vaivode of Walachia to forsake the schism; and wrote to the Greek prelates and clergy, exhorting them to follow the example of their emperor. By the mediation of the emperor, he again granted a peace to Bernabo; but he prohibited Frederic, the possessor of Sicily, from contracting an alliance with the Visconti, by a marriage betwixt their children [b]. About the same time he threatened to summon the king of England to answer at Rome, for neglecting to pay the allegiance and tribute due to the holy see, according to the concession of his predecessor, king John. The bishop of Ely, the chancellor of the kingdom, informing the parliament of these menaces of the pope, they unanimously decreed, that the king was not bound by that extorted concession of John; and that, if the pope should proceed any farther in his demand, they would oppose him to the utmost of their power. The parliament likewise renewed the former acts against the conferring of benefices upon foreigners, and the king prohibited any one from paying the tax of St. Peter [c]. This vigorous opposition of the parliament of England obliging the pope at that time to desist from his pretensions, he confirmed the order of St. Salvator, instituted by St. Bridget, a noble lady of Sweden [d]; and, at the solicitation of the cardinals, having determined to return to Avignon, he appointed two cardinals as his legates in Italy, and embarked at Corneto for Marseilles. He arrived at that city on the 16th of September, and a few days after entered Avignon, having published, as a reason for his returning, that he intended personally to reconcile the kings of France and England. This accommodation, however, he was prevented from effecting;

A.D 1370.

Difference betwixt the pope and the king of England.

Urban returns to France, and dies at Avignon.

[a] Spond. Annal. cul. 14. cap. 5. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Harpsfield, sec. tom. 4. [d] Onuphr. in Chron. Vit. Brig. ap. Sur.

for, quickly after his return, being taken ill, he died at Avignon on the 19th of December.

Gregory XI. is chosen pope. Ten days after the death of Urban, the cardinals unanimously chose cardinal Peter Roger de Maumont, who had been created a cardinal at seventeen years of age, by his uncle, Clement VI. As Peter was of a tender constitution, and not then forty years of age, he refused for some time to accept of the pontificate; but at length allowing himself to be persuaded by the other cardinals, he was ordained priest on the 4th of January, and consecrated the day following, assuming the name of Gregory XI.

A.D. 1371. On the day of his election, he wrote to the emperor, and the other sovereigns of Europe, informing them of his promotion; and, after his consecration, he sent two legates to the kings of France and England, to treat of peace; but those princes, being still inflamed with mutual resentment, could not be prevailed upon to hearken to any terms of accommodation. Gregory, being likewise desirous of reconciling the kings of Spain, sent cardinal Bertrand thither as his legate, to assist the nuncios who had been commissioned by his predecessor Urban. Legates and nuncios were also sent into Italy and Sicily, to take care of the affairs of the church, and to prevent disturbances in those kingdoms. Mean while the pope having received complaints from Eymericus, the inquisitor of the faith in Arragon, against some friars, who publicly preached opinions not authorized by the church, he prohibited all persons from discoursing publicly upon those doctrines, on pain of excommunication. These friars asserted, that if the consecrated wafer was lost, or devoured by a beast, it ceased to be the body of Christ, and returned to the substance of bread; and that even when taken by a communicant, the real body went to heaven, during the chewing of the wafer; which opinions were believed by several great men before the decree of Gregory, who did not absolutely condemn them as heretical, but only prohibited them from being publicly discoursed of [e]. Gregory, about the same time, received an embassy from the king of Denmark, desiring his assistance against the Jutlanders, who had revolted from their allegiance, and chosen another prince. But deputies likewise arriving from the rebels, and representing the oppressions and exactions they suffered from the king, they found means to justify themselves to the pope, who wrote

[e] Direct. Inquis. Eymer. par. i. Wadding. hoc anno.

to

to Waldemar, and threatened him with excommunication if he did not alter his conduct with regard to his subjects. This unexpected message from the pope greatly exasperated the king, who immediately returned an answer in these terms: "Waldemar the king, to the pope, wisheth health. We hold our life from God, our kingdom from our subjects, our wealth from our ancestors, and our faith from your predecessors; if you are not our friend, we restore you the faith by this present writing[f]."

He is insulted by the king of Denmark.

Gregory did not think proper to resent this contempt of the apostolic see by any ecclesiastical censures; but, being solicitous to repress the growing authority of the Visconti, who again attacked the territories of the see of Rome, he published a bull, prohibiting any princes or nobles from contracting marriages with them or their children. At the same time, having assembled a conderable army, he gave the comand of it to Amadeus, count of Savoy; and wrote to the emperor, the princes of Germany, and the king of Hungary, intreating their assistance in behalf of the church. His solicitations had no effect upon the king of Hungary or the German princes; but the emperor published a bull, granting full power to the pope over all the lands and possessions of the Visconti, which they held of the empire, under any title whatever. By this bull the pope was appointed imperial vicar in Italy for ten years, with a power of transferring that dignity to others[g]. The pope, having thus strengthened his authority in Italy, used his endeavours to put an end to the disputes betwixt Naples and Sicily; accordingly, by his means a treaty of peace was concluded, whereby Frederic was allowed the title of king of Trinacria, and Jane that of queen of Sicily; but Frederic and his successors were bound to render homage to the kings of Sicily, to pay an annual tribute of three thousand ounces of gold, and to furnish ten gallies and a hundred armed knights in case of an invasion of the kingdom of Naples. Among other conditions, the pope added, that both the kings of Sicily and Trinacria should pay homage to the holy see, and that the immunities of the clergy should be confirmed by Frederic. The articles added by the pope being ratified in the following year by Frederic and Jane, the apostolic nuncio went over into Sicily, and took off the sentence of excommunication and interdict from that island. Gregory having received an embassy from the queen of Ar-

A.D. 1372.

He sends an army against the Visconti;

and concludes a peace betwixt the king of Trinacria and the queen of Naples.

[f] Pontan. Rer. Dan. lib. viii.

[g] Cod. Eccles. Burdegal.

menia, intreating the assistance of the European princes against the Turks, he wrote to her uncle, the prince of Tarento, to the master of the knights of Rhodes, to the king of Hungary, and the doges of Venice and Genoa, in her behalf. Being solicitous to stop the progress of the infidels, he exhorted the above mentioned princes, and the Greek emperor, with the king of Trinacria, and the bishops and prelates of Greece, to assemble the following October at Old Thebes, to enter into a league against the enemies of Christendom [h]; and, to supply the expences of the war, he sent collectors into all the provinces of Europe, to raise the taxes due to the apostolic see. No less earnest for the extirpation of heresy, he animated the emperor and the princes of Germany against the heretics called Begardi and Bequini, who began to appear again in the empire. He likewise ordered the apostolic legate in Sicily, and the prelates of that kingdom, to repress the boldness of the Fratricelli, the Dulcini, and other heretics, who made a great shew of penitence in their lives, and worshipped relics as saints. He wrote to the count of Savoy to assist the inquisitors in suppressing the Turlupines, so called on account of their immodest tenets, and the depravity of their lives [i]; and he ordered the inquisitors in Arragon to punish those who taught the doctrines of Raimund, a convert from Judaism, who asserted, that the devils ought to be worshipped: that, during tortures, it was lawful to deny God by the mouth, provided he was still adored in the heart; and that it was more perfect to be a schismatic than a catholic. In consequence of these orders of the pope, the doctrines of Raimund were condemned, and his books committed to the flames. The Turlupines were also entirely suppressed, great numbers of that sect having been burnt at Paris, and elsewhere [k].

The pope labours to extirpate heresy;

A.D. 1373. The king of England, in consequence of an act of his parliament, had sent messengers to Avignon, requiring Gregory to desist from conferring benefices in England; and to leave, according to ancient custom, the election of bishops to the clergy, and their confirmation to the metropolitans. The pope, in his turn, made some demands upon the king, to be granted, before he would hearken to those proposed by the parliament; and in the mean time, by his own authority, he supplied the vacancies of

and to reform the discipline of the church.

[h] Bzov. an. 1372, 1373. Bzov. & Wadding. Annal. [i] Contin. Nangii. [k] Meyer lib. xiii. Eymer. Direct. Inquis. par. ii. p. 20, & 27.

some

some of the chief bishopricks in that kingdom [l]. Being informed that one Militzius, a canon of Prague, had raised a sect in Bohemia, which maintained that antichrist was already come, and that there was no truth in the pope, cardinals, or bishops, but that the way of salvation was only to be found among them, he wrote to the archbishop of Prague to reprove Militzius as a heretic, and to punish his followers.

His army in Italy having gained several advantages over the Visconti, they again proposed an accommodation with the holy see; which was accordingly concluded, to the satisfaction of the pope, by the mediation of the dukes of Austria. Gregory, believing the peace solidly established in Italy, proposed to return to Rome, and fixed the time of his departure for the month of September. But he deferred his journey [m] (O); and the following year, being

A.D. 1375.

He concludes a peace with the Visconti, and proposes to return to Rome.

[l] Bzov. hoc an.

[m] Spond. Annal.

(O) This year died the famous Francis Petrarch, in the seventieth year of his age. He was born at Arezzo, in Tuscany, his parents having been banished from Florence by the faction of the Guelphs. After he had learnt grammar, rhetoric, and logic, at Carpentras, he applied himself to the study of the law four years at Montpelier, and, after that, three years at Bologna. At the age of twenty-two, hearing that his parents had died of the plague at Avignon, he went to that city; but soon after, to avoid the contagion, he retired to Vaucluse, in the neighbourhood of Avignon, where he first saw his Laura, whom he has so greatly celebrated in his poems. Having received a letter on the same day from Rome, and the university of Paris, inviting him to come and receive the laurel; he went to Rome, and received it in the Capitol. He afterwards was created archdeacon of Parma; and, having visited Verona, Parma, Venice, and Milan, where Galeas Visconti made him a counsellor of state, he stopped at Padua, and there received a canonicate, though he had formerly refused several benefices. He then bought a house at Arqua, where he lived five years, and received a favour from the Florentines he had formerly solicited in vain, namely, the restitution of all his paternal effects, and the revocation of the sentence of banishment against him; but their favour came too late, for he died a few years after at Arqua. He composed a great many treatises, and was esteemed by all the princes and great men of his time, being no less conspicuous for piety than for his eloquence, genius, and learning (1).

(1) Pet. Pogg. Boccace, Placide Cantanusi.

informed by the bishop of Treviso, who, in his way to Armenia, had stopped at Constantinople, that Cantacuzenus, formerly emperor, had been prevailed upon by the Dominicans to acknowlege the supremacy of the Roman church, he wrote to that prince, inviting him to Rome, and exhorting him to use his authority with the other Greeks to embrace the union.

A general revolt in Italy against the authority of the pope.

The superiority which the pope had acquired in Italy, by the inactivity of the emperor, and the success of the arms of his legates, was in great danger of being wholly ruined, by a general revolt of the cities subject to the holy see, occasioned by the tyrannical government of the legates, who not only oppressed their new subjects by grievous subsidies and exactions, but likewise built strong forts in each of their towns. The Florentines, at that time very rich and powerful, were the first who rose against the church, alleging, that the legates had prevented their city from receiving a supply of provisions during a great dearth; and that John Hawkwood, then in the service of the see of Rome, had ravaged their territory at the head of an army [n]. Under pretence, therefore, that their liberty was in danger, they determined upon a war, the chief management of which they committed to a council of eight citizens. They imprisoned the pope's nuncio, destroyed the prison of the inquisition, and erected a standard, on which was written, in large letters, the Latin word LIBERTAS, declaring, at the same time, that whoever would revolt from the church should be comprehended in the league. In consequence of these proceedings, Bologna and Perugia immediately revolted, and were followed by more than sixty cities in Romagna, Campania, the March, and the duchy of Spoleto, who concluded an alliance with the Florentines and the Visconti. They wrote to the emperor, and the king of Hungary, and other princes, in justification of their league, declaring, that though they refused to be governed by the church, yet they would still pay the usual tribute to the holy see [o]. Gregory, thinking to stop the progress of the revolt, offered to enter into a negociation for peace with the Florentines; and in the mean time he sent two legates into Bruges, in Flanders, to reconcile the kings of England and France. Being informed that the Waldenses were again become so numerous in Dauphiné, Savoy, and

[n] Aretin. lib. viii. Poggi. 2. Anton. tit. xxii. cap. 1. Cor. part. iii. [o] Annal. Mediol. ap. Murator. tom. xvi. p. 759.

Provence,

Provence, as to rise in rebellion against the inquisitors, he wrote to the prelates and rectors of the provinces, accusing them of negligence, and, having desired the princes in those provinces to give their protection to the inquisitors, he sent the bishop of Massa to assist them in extirpating the heretics [p].

Soon after, he published a sentence of excommunication and interdict against the Florentines, depriving them of all their privileges, ordering their property to be seized, and their persons to be enslaved, in whatever country they should be found. In consequence of this censure, all the subjects of that state in England, Germany, and other kingdoms, were immediately declared slaves, and all their possessions seized; a circumstance which obliged the Florentines to think of an accommodation with the holy see. They accordingly sent Catharine of Sienna to Avignon, to intercede for them with the pope, promising to send deputies to confirm whatever articles should be agreed to. The deputies, after several delays, at length arrived, but, instead of ratifying the articles, spent the conferences in accusing the legates and commanders of the church. Gregory, finding that they had no real desire of a peace, but intended to delude him with vain promises, raised an army of six thousand horse, and four thousand foot, in Britany, and other provinces of France, which he sent under the command of a cardinal into Italy, he himself proposing to return to Rome. But, before he left Avignon, he granted a bull, allowing the electors to chuse Wenceslaus, the emperor's eldest son, king of the Romans; and sent two nuncios into Germany, to be present at the election [q]. Having afterwards received an embassy from Wenceslaus, informing him of his election, he allowed him to be crowned at Aix la Chapelle, by the archbishop of Cologne. Leaving Avignon on the 13th of September, he embarked at Marseilles for Italy, and landed at Corneto on the 5th of December. After resting himself for some weeks from the fatigues of his voyage, he reimbarked, and arrived at Rome on the 17th of January, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy.

A.D. 1376.

The Florentines are excommunicated, and declared slaves.

A. D. 1377.

The pope returns to Rome.

By his presence at Rome, Gregory expected to re-establish the authority of the holy see in Italy, and to prevail with the rebels to submit; but he quickly found himself greatly mistaken; for though the Romans, upon his re-

[p] Wadding. hoc an. [q] Spond. Annal.

The Romans retain the sovereignty of their city.

turn, had suppressed the twelve captains of the wards, who were called bannerets, yet they soon after restored them, and resumed the government of the city, in opposition to the remonstrances of the pope. The rebels likewise were so far from returning to their allegiance, that even some cities, which had hitherto continued in their obedience, now entered into the league with the Florentines[r]; and Hawkwood, with his English troops, deserting the party of the church, made an alliance with Bernabo Visconti, who gave him his natural daughter in marriage[s]. Gregory, greatly afflicted by the bad state of his affairs, sent for the deputies of the Florentines, and admitted them to a kiss of peace, and a participation of the sacred ordinances; but he could not prevail with them to consent to any honourable terms of peace for the holy see: however, in the month of June, they agreed to a cessation of arms for a few months. The pope in the mean time going to Anagni, from thence wrote to the emperor, the king of France, and other princes, complaining bitterly of the Florentines, who, in contempt of the interdict denounced against them, had compelled their priests to perform divine service, and protected a heretic, who explained the Apocalypse, and other parts of Scripture, in the vulgar tongue[t]. Returning to Rome in the beginning of November, he wrote to Bernabo and Hawkwood, intreating them to hearken to a reconciliation. Bernabo, upon his repeated solicitations, at length declared his willingness to enter into a negociation; and the Florentines, beginning to be weary of the expences of the war, which had cost them upwards of three millions of florins, a congress was appointed to be held at Serazanæ in Tuscany.

A truce agreed to betwixt the pope and the confederates.

Gregory orders the chancellor of Oxford to imprison Wickliffe.

Gregory, being informed of the heresies published in England by John Wickliffe, wrote to the chancellor and university of Oxford, reproving them severely for allowing those erroneous doctrines to be published, and ordering them forthwith to deliver John as a prisoner into the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, to whom he sent nineteen articles, taken from the propositions of Wickliffe, which he condemned as heretical. He wrote also to those prelates to examine the doctrines of Wickliffe, and to keep him prisoner in irons; but, if they could not seize him, to summon him public-

[r] Aretin. lib. viii. Anton. tit. xxii. cap. 1. Mediol. ut supra, cap. 139. [s] Annal. [t] Spond. Annal.

ly

ly to appear before the apoſtolic ſee within three months. The king of England likewiſe received a letter from the pope, exhorting him to uſe his authority in extirpating hereſy; but Richard, who, a few months before the arrival of the pope's letters in England, had ſucceeded his grandfather Edward III. being then a boy, his uncle the duke of Lancaſter, and ſeveral other nobles, afforded their protection to Wickliffe; ſo that the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of London, being prohibited by the nobles, and threatened by the citizens of London, dropt the proſecution, and excuſed themſelves, by alleging, that Wickliffe declared, he would ſubmit his doctrines to the judgment of the church of Rome [u] (P). The authority of the pope was at this time alſo oppoſed in Germany, where ſeveral princes and magiſtrates had decreed, that no temporal poſſeſſions ought to be transferred to eccleſiaſtics; that no clergyman ought to be admitted as an agent or witneſs in civil affairs; that excommunicated perſons ought not to be deprived of the benefit of the laws. But the emperor, zealous for aggrandizing the power of the popes, publiſhed a bull, ordering thoſe decrees to be revoked, and prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, all perſons from moleſting the clergy [w]. Mean while Gregory, not depending greatly upon the pacific intentions of the confederates, wrote to the archbiſhop of Rouen, his nuncio, to ſolicit the king of France and the emperor to aſſiſt the church, and to ſend deputies to the congreſs. The king, receiving ſoon after a letter from the pope, ſent four deputies to Serazanæ, where the congreſs was opened on the 12th of March; but, as Gregory died on the 27th of the ſame month, the confe-

The papal authority is oppoſed in Germany.

A.D. 1378.

Gregory dies at Rome.

[u] Walſing. Harpsfield. [w] Bzov. hoc an.

(P) The doctrines of which Wickliffe was accuſed were not all publiſhed at once. The chief of thoſe which he at firſt advanced were, "That the wafer in the euchariſt, after conſecration, is not the real body of Chriſt, but its figure only; that the Roman church has no right to be the head of all churches; that the pope has no more authority than any other prieſt; that lay patrons may and ought to deprive a delinquent church of its temporal poſſeſſions; and that the Goſpel was ſufficient to direct any Chriſtian; that no prelate of the church ought to have priſons for puniſhing delinquents (1)."

(1) Walſing.

rences

rences were immediately broke off, and the deputies returned [x].

The Romans compel the cardinals to chuſe an Italian pope.

Before the death of Gregory, the bannerets conſulted about the means of retaining the apoſtolic ſee in Italy, and by the advice of the Italian prelates, they unanimouſly agreed to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, upon the death of the pope, to procure a Roman, or at leaſt an Italian, to be elected as his ſucceſſor. After Gregory's death they accordingly exhorted the cardinals ſingly to chuſe a Roman or Italian, otherwiſe they threatened them with an inſurrection of the people. When the cardinals entered the conclave, the tumult increaſed. The common people having expelled the nobles, and brought a great many peaſants into the city, with great violence ruſhed into the conclave, and ſurrounded the palace, loudly demanding a Roman or Italian pope. At length, at the perſuaſion of the bannerets, the mob quitted the conclave, and the doors were ſhut; however, they continued all night round the palace, with great tumult and noiſe. In the morning, when they heard the celebration of the maſs, they rung the alarm-bells, and, having obliged the cardinals to open the windows of the conclave towards the ſtreet, they declared, that unleſs they immediately choſe a Roman or Italian, they would put them to death. In this extremity the French cardinals, who were three fourths of the whole college, proteſting that they only conſented to an election from the fear of immediate death, they named Bartholomew, archbiſhop of Bari, a gentleman of Naples. As this prelate was remarkable for his modeſty and humility, and for his ſkill in the canon law, the cardinals was perſuaded that he would acknowlege his election to be null, and would therefore abdicate the pontificate. They were, however, greatly diſappointed; for the archbiſhop, who aſſumed the name of Urban VI. obliged the cardinals, ſix of whom had fled to the caſtle of St. Angelo, to come to the palace and perform the ceremony of his coronation [y]. Then he wrote to thoſe cardinals that remained at Avignon, informing them of his election, which they declared to be free and unanimous. To the ſame purpoſe they wrote to the princes and prelates in Europe. The French cardinals having thus in appearance acknowleged the validity of the election, behaved with great obſequiouſneſs for three months; but, under pretence of avoiding the heat, they

Urban the Sixth is elected.

[x] Spond. Annal. [y] Theod. de Niem. lib. i. Anton. tit. xxii. cap. 2. Froiſſard, lib. ii. cap. 12.

obtained

obtained leave to retire to Anagni, Urban himſelf, with the four Italian cardinals, about the ſame time going to Tivoli. At Anagni they immediately took the troops of Britanny into their pay, and, having ſummoned the four cardinals that were at Tivoli, they wrote to Urban, requiring him to reſign the pontificate. Urban having then received a guard of two hundred ſpearmen, and a conſiderable body of foot from the queen of Naples, ſent three cardinals to Anagni, to exhort their brethren to return to their duty, but without effect; for, on the 9th of Auguſt, the French cardinals publiſhed a ſentence againſt Urban, by the title of the archbiſhop of Bari, accuſing him of being an apoſtate and anti-chriſt. Soon after, having prevailed with queen Jane and her huſband, Otho of Brunſwick, to abandon Urban, they went to Fondi, where, on the 21ſt of September, they choſe cardinal Robert, who took the name of Clement VII [z]. *Clement VII anti-pope.*

Thus a violent ſchiſm aroſe in the church, to the great diſturbance of ſeveral kingdoms in Europe, which were thereby involved in the miſeries of war (Q). The emperor, with the kingdoms of Portugal, Hungary, Poland, England, Bohemia, Denmark, and Sweden, and the Italians, Flemings, Saxons, and Weſtphalians, acknowleged *A ſchiſm in the church.*

[z] Spond. Annal. hoc ann.

(Q) This ſchiſm continued upwards of forty years, and, according to ſeveral authors, was owing to the ill-timed ſeverity of Urban, who took no pains to ſooth the exaſperated ſpirits of the cardinals; but, in a public diſcourſe immediately after his coronation, reprehended them ſeverely for their pomp and luxury, and threatened to puniſh thoſe who ſhould be guilty of ſimony, or receiving of bribes, adding reproaches againſt ſome of the college for privately correſponding with the enemies of the church. This unſeaſonable rigour, together with his kindneſs to the Romans, provoked the French cardinals to think of a ſecond election, they juſtifying themſelves on account of the violence the conclave had ſuffered at Rome, a particular relation of which they publiſhed after their arrival at Anagni. Some authors greatly extenuate the violence offered by the Romans, while others are at as much pains to repreſent it in the worſt light, every one writing in favour of the party he had eſpouſed. The great number of treatiſes written on the occaſion of this ſchiſm are collected in the Vatican library, and conſiſt of thirty-two volumes (1).

(1) Spond. Annal.

Urban;

Urban; France, Spain, Scotland, Cyprus, Sicily, and some princes, submitted to the authority of Clement; while others continued in a state of neutrality, till the dispute should be determined by a general council. Mean while the two popes persecuted each other with mutual anathemas, and, by offering plenary indulgences to all those who would take the cross in defence of their cause. What the one bound the other loosed; and what the one granted, the other annulled; in consequence of which anarchy a great corruption of manners quickly prevailed; the good were not honoured, and the bad were protected; rapines and murders became frequent, the laws were despised, discipline abolished, and simony established as a public merchandize. Urban, before the schism, had concluded a peace with Bernabo, the Florentines, and the confederates; he had confirmed the election of Wenceslaus, without receiving any embassy from Germany, and threatened to excommunicate the king of Arragon, if he did not desist from his pretensions to the crown of Sicily. But finding himself abandoned by all the cardinals excepting one, and by the greatest part of the prelates and officers of his court, he began to be sensible of his imprudent conduct in acting too arbitrarily before his authority was established; and, having returned to Rome, created twenty-nine new cardinals, chiefly Romans and Neapolitans. Clement, likewise, about the same time created six cardinals; and sent the troops of Britany and Gascony, with the Roman nobles that adhered to his party, to take possession of Rome; but, after several skirmishes, they were obliged to retire with considerable loss. Finding his arms unsuccessful, he next year retired to Naples, where he was received by the queen with all the veneration usually paid to a pope; but the Neapolitans raising a tumult in favour of Urban their citizen, Clement was obliged to quit the city, and, as he had few followers in Italy, about the middle of June he embarked with his cardinals for Marseilles, and was received with great joy at Avignon.

A D. 1379.

The anti-pope retires to Avignon.

Urban, being now secure in Italy, resolved to revenge himself upon the queen of Naples, by declaring her excommunicated, and absolving her subjects from their allegiance; and as the emperor and the king of Hungary had jointly published a letter in his favour, he wrote to the king, inviting him to punish the queen for the murder of his brother, and to send Charles of Durazzo with an army to take possession of the kingdom of Naples.

Charles

Charles, who at that time commanded the Hungarian army in the Treviſan againſt the Venetians, after ſome difficulties, was prevailed upon to accept of the offer of the pope, and made ſecret preparations for his expedition. Urban accordingly publiſhed a ſentence of excommunication and depoſition againſt Jane, who, to avert the ſtorm with which ſhe was threatened, took the grand companies into her pay, and, as ſhe had no iſſue, adopted the duke of Anjou, the French king's brother, as her heir [a]. A D. 1380.

Urban crowns Charles of Durazzo king of Sicily.

But next year, Charles of Durazzo arriving with an army of Hungarians at Rome, Urban conferred upon him the crowns of Sicily and Jeruſalem, under the ſame conditions as the kings of Naples had formerly bound themſelves to the holy ſee. As Charles was in great want of money, Urban melted down and ſold a great many gold and ſilver chalices, croſſes, and images of ſaints, for the expences of the war. Charles, immediately after his coronation, marching for Naples, by a ſucceſsful battle made himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom, and got the queen and her huſband into his power; while the legate, whom Urban had ſent to accompany him, having apprehended two cardinals and ſeveral prelates of the party of Clement, obliged them to abjure the anti-pope, and to throw the ornaments of their dignity into the fire.

Diſturbances at Paris.

Mean while great diſturbances were raiſed in France by the actions of the anti-pope, who not only conferred the richeſt vacant benefices on his cardinals, but appropriated others by grants of reverſion; and, as he had no other kingdom to ſupply the expences of his court, great ſums of money were raiſed under the name of tithes and arrears due to the apoſtolic chamber. As, upon theſe accounts, the ſtudents, who were cut off from all hopes of preferment, deſerted the univerſity, one Roſs, a doctor of divinity, went to the king, and repreſented their grievances with great freedom. The duke of Anjou, who was then regent, and ſuppoſed to be a ſharer with the anti-pope in his exactions, being highly offended with this repreſentation, impriſoned the doctor; but the whole univerſity going in a body, and complaining of the outrage, Roſs obtained his liberty, and immediately went to Urban, who wrote to the univerſity, exhorting them to perſevere in their oppoſition to the anti-pope [b]. Urban, ſoon after, was alarmed at Rome by an inſurrection of the Romans, who were offended with him for rejecting a petition they A.D. 1381.

[a] Theod. de Niem. lib. i. [b] Juven. in Reb. Geſt. Car. VI.

had

had presented; however, the pope opposing their fury with constancy and resolution, they quickly laid down their arms, and asked pardon [c]. Charles of Durazzo having caused the queen of Naples to be put to death, the duke of Anjou, whom she had adopted as her son and heir, arrived at Avignon, and was crowned king of Sicily by Clement. After reducing the Provençals, who had refused to acknowlege him as their sovereign, he passed the Alps with a numerous army, and entered the kingdom of Naples, where he was immediately joined by many of the nobles, and took several towns in Apulia and Calabria; but as his troops were not accustomed to the climate, and his convoys were frequently intercepted by the enemy, before the return of the spring his army was greatly lessened, so as to be inferior to the forces of Charles.

Urban goes to Naples.

Mean while Urban, having left Rome to avoid the heats, after residing some time at Tivoli, resolved to go to Naples, to settle the commotions in that kingdom, and to obtain the confirmation of the promises of Charles in favour of his nephew Francis Prignano, to whom that prince had promised the duchies of Capua and Amalfi. Though he was dissuaded from his journey by several letters from Naples, and by many of his cardinals; he nevertheless proceeded, and arrived at Aversa in the beginning of October, where he was received with great respect by Charles, who led his horse into the city. The pope took up his residence at the bishop's palace; but the following night he was conducted by force into the castle, where he was compelled to revoke all the conditions upon which he had granted the kingdom of Naples to Charles. Proceeding from Aversa to Naples, he was again lodged in the castle; but, after some time, at the intercession of the cardinals and nobles, Charles was reconciled to him, asked pardon for what he had done, and set him at liberty, promising, likewise, to fulfil what he had promised to his nephew [d]. Urban, soon after his promotion, had desired the assistance of the king of England against the French, granting him, for that purpose, the tithes of all ecclesiastical revenues in his kingdom. In consequence of frequent letters from Rome, the bishop of Norwich at length assembled an army of seventeen thousand crusaders, and, about the time that Urban was preparing for his Neapolitan journey, transported his

[c] Walsing. Krantz, Metrop. 14. [d] Theod. de Niem.

troops

troops to Calais, with intention to attack the French as ſchiſmatics; but, after his arrival upon the continent, he altered his deſign, and invaded Flanders. The Flemings, who acknowleged Urban, being ſurpriſed by the Engliſh, loſt ſeveral towns; but the king of France approaching with a formidable army, the cruſaders diſperſed, and the biſhop returned in a diſgraceful manner to England [e].

In the courſe of the following year, Urban, ſtill reſiding at Naples, excommunicated the duke of Anjou, and publiſhed a cruſade againſt him, appointing Charles ſtandard-bearer, and general of the cruſaders. After the king's departure for the campaign, he himſelf went to Nocera, which had been granted to his nephew. As an edict had been publiſhed, prohibiting all perſons to buy victuals, or even ſalt or candles, unleſs from the king's warehouſes, the pope's court was quickly in great want of proviſions, on which account a great many cardinals returned to Naples; but Urban recalling them, they all, except one, came back to Nocera, and ſhared in the indigties which he ſuffered in that city for ſeveral months. The king, in the mean time, being freed from his competitor by death, and having obtained the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom, returned in the month of November to Naples. Though Nocera was within a day's journey of his capital, he neglected to viſit the pope, but ſent to him in a diſreſpectful manner, demanding why he left Naples, and deſiring him to return immediately, as he had matters of importance to communicate. The pope, provoked to the laſt degree at his arrogance, replied, that Chriſtian kings and princes did not uſe to call the popes to them, but thought themſelves honoured by coming to the feet of the popes; and that, if he deſired to ſee him as a friend, he muſt take off the heavy taxes with which he oppreſſed a kingdom that was a fief of the holy ſee [f]. This anſwer greatly offended the king, who declared, that the kingdom was his own by conqueſt, and by right of his wife, and by his own authority he would raiſe what taxes he thought proper. The difference betwixt Urban and the king was chiefly fomented by cardinal Reali, who, in contempt of the pope's meſſage, had remained at Naples.

A.D.1384.

He publiſhes a cruſade againſt the duke of Anjou.

A rupture between the pope and the king of Naples.

[e] Froſſard, lib. ii. Juven. in Hiſt. Car. VI. [f] Summont. lib. iv.

This

This cardinal, for what reason is uncertain, had resolved upon the ruin of Urban. By corresponding secretly with the cardinals at Nocera, he had persuaded them, that it was the opinion of divines, and those that were skilled in the canons, that when a pope acted imprudently, or despised the advice of the cardinals, it was lawful to appoint several curators to assist in the administration of the universal church. The cardinals, having once assented to this opinion, proceeded farther; and having alleged against the pope the crimes of heresy, ambition, avarice, and ingratitude towards the king, they formed a design, not only of deposing, but even of depriving him of life. The conspiracy being discovered by one of the cardinals, Urban immediately held a consistory, where laying before them the proofs he had received of the plot, he ordered six or seven of the cardinals to be seized and put in irons. Having by tortures wrested from them a confession of their guilt, he confined them to separate dungeons; and a few days after, to supply their places, he made a promotion of seventeen cardinals, among whom were the three ecclesiastic electors of Germany, the bishops of Liege and Wratislaw, and a priest of Bohemia, of a noble family, which six refused to accept of the dignity[g]. Immediately after these proceedings, he assembled the clergy and people of Nocera, and gave them a particular account of the conspiracy; then he erected a cross, and, with lighted candles, excommunicated the king and queen of Naples, cardinal Reali, with the other convicted cardinals, and the anti-pope, with all his adherents. The king and queen were also deposed, the cardinals deprived of their dignities, and the city of Naples laid under an interdict.

A.D. 1385.

The cardinals convicted of a conspiracy.

Urban besieged in Nocera.

Charles, exasperated at the pope's fulmination, imprisoned all the prelates and clergy that favoured Urban at Naples; and, marching with his army against Nocera, took and plundered the city, the pope having saved himself in the citadel, from whence thrice a day he denounced anathemas against the king's army, with book, bell, and candle. Urban, after suffering for some time the miseries of a siege, at length, by means of two generals of the party of the late duke of Anjou, escaped from the citadel, and arrived at Benevento, with his cardinals, and those that were degraded. From thence proceeding to

[g] Gobel. Pers. ap. Rer. Germ. Scriptor. tom. i. p. 316. Theod. de Niem. lib. i. cap. 42.

Barletta,

Barletta, he embarked on board ſome Genoeſe gallies, and arrived on the 23d of September, at Genoa, where he again committed his degraded cardinals to priſon, excepting Adam, an Engliſhman, who, at the interceſſion of king Richard, was allowed to return to England (T). Immediately after the departure of Urban, Charles croſſed the Adriatic, and went into Hungary, where, in prejudice of the rights of the daughters of the late king, he was crowned by a faction on the 31ſt of December, but was murdered a few weeks afterwards by a party of the queen. The news of his death arriving at Naples, the queen immediately crowned his ſon Ladiſlaus, or Lancelot, then a boy of ten years of age. But as the party of the duke of Anjou likewiſe crowned his ſon Lewis, who was ſupported by the anti-pope Clement, the queen ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Urban in the moſt ſubmiſſive and preſſing manner. Though it was the intereſt of the pope to ſupport the party of Ladiſlaus in oppoſition to that of Lewis, yet, as the reſentment for the injuries he had received from Charles had not yet ſubſided, it was with great difficulty he was prevailed upon to give aſſiſtance to his ſon. At length he ſent a few troops; but, before their arrival, the Clementine party had taken poſſeſſion of Naples, and gained ſeveral other advantages. Mean while Urban received an embaſſy from Jagello, duke of Lithuania, who had renounced his idolatry, married the queen of Poland, and, by the name of Uladiſlaus, aſcended the throne of that kingdom, to which he had annexed his hereditary dominions.

He eſcapes by ſea to Genoa.

A.D. 1386.

The pope, having rejected all interceſſions in behalf of the degraded cardinals, ordered them to be put to death, as his own life was again in danger from the deſigns of their friends, who had more than once endeavoured to

He puts the degraded cardinals to death.

(T) This is the account of Theodoric de Niem, Gobellinus Perſona, Walſingham, Krantz, Summontius, and others; however, Niem adds, that, while the pope was on his journey from Nocera to the ſea coaſt, he ordered the biſhop of Aquila, who was one of the conſpirators, to be put to death, and left unburied, imagining he wanted to eſcape, as he was mounted on a bad horſe, and, on account of ſickneſs, occaſioned by his long impriſonment, was unable to keep up with the reſt of the company (1).

(1) Niem. cap. 56.

poison him, and had even assaulted his palace [h]. As he made diligent enquiry to find out the authors of the assault, two cardinals fled from his court, and went to Avignon, where they were promoted to the same dignity by other titles. Urban, not being able to prevail with the doge of Genoa to punish those that had been guilty of the
A.D. 1387. assault, left that city, and in the end of December arrived at Lucca, where he resided nine months. Clement, in the mean time, finding his party strengthened by the accession of the kings of Navarre and Arragon, and by some successes of his adherents in Italy, that he might, by an appearance of moderation, reconcile the minds of others, he sent legates through the different provinces of Christendom, to desire a general council, declaring, that he was willing to submit to the decision of the church, without whose determination he could not with a safe conscience resign the pontificate: that, if he was confirmed, he would create Urban a cardinal of the first rank, and if the council should decide against him, he would submit to Urban [i]. Clement, by this step, gained a great many friends in Germany, from whence the princes and prelates sent an embassy to Urban, desiring him to consent to a general council, in order to restore the unity of the church, offering a place of security, and to defray the expences necessary on that occasion. The solicitations of the ambassadors were ineffectual; for Urban insisted, that there was no necessity to examine the justness of his title to the pontificate [k]. About the same time he published a crusade against the Clementines that had seized Naples; and, having had some disputes with the Florentines, he left Lucca, and went to Perugia.

A.D. 1388. During his residence in that city, a division arose among the chiefs of the party of the duke of Anjou at Naples, who employed their troops in revenging their private quarrels. Urban, in hopes of recovering his interest in that kingdom, assembled a considerable body of horse, and, in the month of August, leaving Perugia, marched for Naples. But, having a fall from his mule, he was obliged to be carried in a litter to Trivoli, where he received an embassy from the Romans, inviting him to Rome. Urban, distrusting their fidelity, advanced with his troops to Ferentino; but they having almost wholly

He marches from Perugia with some troops to recover Naples.

[h] Gobelin. Person. ut supra, p. 309, 310. [i] Mutii Chron. Germ. lib. xxvi. [k] Niem, cap. 66. Anton. tit. xxii. cap. 2.

deserted

deſerted for want of pay, he was obliged, in the beginning of October, to return to Rome, having been informed that the city of Bologna had revolted to the party of Clement. Next year, he had a diſpute with the Romans, on account of ſome ſenator he had appointed, whom they ſuſpected to be their enemy. To quiet the people, who threatened an inſurrection, he publiſhed a bull for the celebration of a jubilee in the following year at Rome; which ſolemnity he ordered for the future to be obſerved every thirty-three years, according to the number of years of our Saviour's life. He hoped by this feſtival to enrich both the Romans and himſelf; but he died before the time arrived for its celebration: Niemus, who was preſent at his death, relates, that, after a ſickneſs of twenty-eight days, he died on the 12th of October, and that it was generally believed he was poiſoned [1].

Dies at Rome.

A few days after the death of Urban, the cardinals who were at Rome, to the number of fourteen, entered the conclave, and, after ſome diſputes, unanimouſly choſe Peter Tomacello, a Neapolitan, and cardinal-prieſt, of the title of St. Anaſtaſia. He was conſecrated and crowned on the feaſt of St. Martin, by the name of Boniface IX. and immediately publiſhed circular letters, informing all the Chriſtian princes and prelates of his promotion (U). The news of his election no ſooner reached Avignon, than Clement denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt him, the ſame anathema having been fulminated by Boniface againſt the anti-pope. In conſequence of the bull for the jubilee, great numbers of pilgrims arrived at Rome; but as they were not ſo numerous as at the former jubilees, Boniface ſent the indulgencies into the different provinces of Chriſtendom, to be conferred on thoſe who, inſtead of the pilgrimage, would undertake other pious works. Thoſe who were entruſted with the diſpoſal of the indulgences, were ordered to return a third part of the offerings to the pope. But as great abuſes were committed in that ſacred merchandize, the collectors were not only maltreated by the people, but

Boniface elected.

A.D. 1390.

A jubilee celebrated at Rome.

[1] Niem, cap. 68. Boninſegn. lib. iv. Anton. tit. ut ſupra.

(U) Boniface was born of a noble though poor family, and, according to Niem, was created a cardinal twenty-five days after he had come to Rome as a poor and unbeneficed clergyman.

also imprisoned by Boniface, who, at the persuasion of Adam, the English cardinal, whom he had restored to his dignity, declared, that a confession without penance did not intitle any one to the benefit of the indulgence, unless at the point of death [m]. About the same time the pope having received an embassy from the queen of Sicily and her son Ladislaus, desiring to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication denounced against them by Urban, and to receive the investiture of the kingdom, he sent cardinal Acciaioli to Gaeta, where he crowned the young Ladislaus, with his wife Constantia, king and queen of Sicily and Jerusalem. Mean while the anti-pope having received an embassy from the knights of Rhodes, informing him of the danger of Smyrna, from the incursions of the Tartars under the command of Tamerlane, he published a bull, promising a plenary remission of sins to all those who would furnish money to the assistance of the Christians in Asia [n].

A.D. 1391. This bull was soon after followed by a letter of Boniface, addressed to all the faithful, exhorting them to the obedience of the pope, and to defend the apostolic see. As the anti-pope was chiefly supported by France, Boniface exclaimed against that kingdom. He compared the residence of the popes on the banks of the Rhone to the captivity of the Jews at Babylon. He asserted, that the king of France had been deceived by false letters, as though Urban VI. had designed to deprive him of the kingdom of Arles; and that he engaged in defence of the schism, upon a promise from the anti-pope of obtaining the universal monarchy, and the tithes in perpetuity [o]. He was soon after alarmed by the proceedings of the parliament of England, who ordered all English subjects then at Rome, soliciting preferment, to return immediately, under pain of losing their benefices. The pope, apprensive that England would declare for the anti-pope, sent an abbot into that kingdom, to declare, that he had no intention to infringe the king's prerogative, but would nevertheless defend the ecclesiastical liberty [p].

The pope sends an abbot to the king of England,

A.D. 392. At the request of the German prelates, he published a bull, confirming the edicts of the emperors Frederic II. and Charles IV. for the immunity and jurisdiction of ecclesiastics. He likewise canonized St. Bridget, and sent legates to mediate a peace betwixt the Visconti and the

and publishes a bull for the liberty of ecclesiastics.

[m] Walsing. in Rich. II. Boniface. apud Spond.
[n] Bzov. hoc anno.
[o] Epist.
[p] Walsing. in Rich. II.

Florentines,

Florentines, which was accordingly concluded. Not long after the pope, on account of the many indignities and hardſhips he ſuffered from the bannerets of Rome, was obliged to quit the city, and retire to Perugia, where, at the entreaty of the queen-dowager of Sicily, he granted a divorce betwixt her ſon Ladiſlaus and his young queen Conſtantia, for no other reaſon pretended, than becauſe a report prevailed, that Conſtantia's mother had been debauched by Martin, duke of Monablanco [q]. He likewiſe ſent two nuncios with a letter to the king of France, deſiring him to give his aſſiſtance in reſtoring the union of the church. The two nuncios went firſt to Avignon, where they were injuriouſly treated, and detained priſoners by the anti-pope; but, at the requeſt of the univerſity of Paris, the king of France ordered them to be ſet at liberty. Upon their arrival at Paris the king admitted them to an audience, and deſired them to inform Boniface, that he would endeavour to the utmoſt to re-eſtabliſh the union of the church, for which purpoſe ſupplications and proceſſions were then begun to be made at Paris. Clement, perceiving the inclinations of the Pariſians, pretended likewiſe to deſire the union, and added a peculiar office to the maſs, granting great indulgences to thoſe who celebrated it. But it appears that his real intention was otherwiſe, for he ſoon after ſent a maſter of the Carmelites to excite the Pariſians againſt Boniface. The books of John Wickliffe having been carried into Bohemia by a young nobleman of that kingdom, who had ſtudied at Oxford, his doctrines were embraced by great numbers of people at Prague; and, being publicly preached by John Huſs, were received likewiſe in ſeveral cities of Germany, particularly at Augſburgh. One Henry, a prieſt of Bamberg, having received authority from the magiſtrates of that city, made enquiry after thoſe who profeſſed heretical doctrines, many of whom this year he ordered to be burnt, and commanded thoſe who recanted their opinions to wear upon their breaſt and back a yellow croſs for twelve months [r].

The followers of Wickliffe's doctrines are perſecuted in Germany.

During theſe proceedings againſt the heretics in Germany Boniface returned to Rome; where he continued but a few months, when his life was in danger from a violent inſurrection of the Romans, who broke open the doors of his bed-chamber, and dragged from thence ſome

A.D. 1394.

Boniface returns to Rome.

[q] Summont. lib. iv. cap. 2. iii lib. vi. cap. 4.

[r] Cruſii Annal. Suev. part.

canons of St. Peter's church, who had refused to agree to an alienation required of them by the bannerets. The king of Naples, who had come to Rome to demand succours from the pope against his competitor, immediately assembled some troops; and, having repulsed the mob, effected a reconciliation betwixt the Romans and his holiness.

The university of Paris proposes a means to put an end to the schism.

The university of Paris, having obtained leave from the king to consult of means to put an end to the schism, had concluded upon three expedients for that purpose, namely, either the resignation of both the pretenders, or a mutual compromise of both parties to elect a certain person, or, lastly, the determination of a general council. Notwithstanding the great opposition of the duke of Berry, the king's uncle, and Peter de Luna, the legate of the anti-pope, the university presented their resolutions in form of a letter to the king; which were graciously received by his majesty, who appointed a day for farther deliberation on that affair. At length, however, the intrigues of the anti-pope's legate prevailed; and the chancellor, by order of the king, prohibited the university from proceeding farther on that subject.

The anti-pope dies, and is succeeded by Benedict XIII.

Clement dying on the 16th of September, the king of France immediately wrote to his cardinals to delay the election of a successor, till he should send special messengers to treat of the means of an union. The cardinals received letters to the same purpose from the university of Paris, from the king of Arragon, and other princes. Boniface also sent two legates to Avignon, and wrote to the king of France and university of Paris, exhorting them to use their utmost endeavours to put an end to the schism. The cardinals at Avignon, however, paid no regard to the solicitations of the king of France, but, ten days after the death of Clement, entered the conclave, and chose Peter de Luna, who took the name of Benedict XIII. This pontiff wrote to the Christian princes, that he had been elected against his inclination, and would even willingly resign to procure the union of the church [s].

A.D. 1395.

A council of divines at Paris propose the method of resignation, to put an end to the schism.

In consequence of these professions, the king of France assembled the prelates and doctors of his kingdom at Paris, to consult about means for effecting an union. The council, after mature deliberation, decreed, that the method of resignation was the most convenient: that Benedict and the king ought first to inform the princes of their own party; and that the king alone should then acquaint

[s] Surit. Indic. lib. iii. Monach. Dionys. & Juven. in Car. VI.

the

the princes of the oppoſite party with the means propoſed for the union; and that, after thoſe princes ſhould have perſuaded Boniface to agree to a reſignation, they ſhould then conſult about the manner of the future election. The king of France being informed that Benedict and his cardinals, before his election, had taken an oath, whereby they had bound themſelves to endeavour to the utmoſt of their power to put an end to the ſchiſm, he ſent to Avignon for a copy of the oath; but receiving only evaſive anſwers from the anti-pope, he ſent his brother and his three uncles, with ſeveral other eminent nobles, prelates, and doctors, to Avignon, to urge Benedict to remember his oath, and give peace to the church. This ſolemn embaſſy had no influence with the anti-pope; however, all his cardinals, except three, ſubſcribed their aſſent to the method of reſignation [t]. During theſe tranſactions, the Lollards or Wickliffites in England expreſſed their contempt for both popes, by writings affixed to the doors of St. Paul's and St. Peter's churches. The univerſity of Oxford, at the deſire of the king, examined the method of reſignation propoſed by the Pariſians, which they condemned by numerous arguments, and propoſed the way of a general council, which they proved to be preferable, on account of its authority and dignity. Boniface, being informed of the outrages committed by the Wickliffites, wrote to the king of England, deſiring him to aſſiſt the prelates of the church againſt the Lollards, and to condemn thoſe who were declared heretics. The kings of England and France having an interview in the neighbourhood of Calais, Richard was married to the French king's daughter in that city; and diſapproving of the opinion of the univerſity of Oxford, agreed that the method of ceſſion was moſt proper to put an end to the ſchiſm. Accordingly, ambaſſadors were ſent in the name of both kings to the two competitors for the pontificate, deſiring them to conſent to a reſignation. Both Boniface and Benedict refuſed to give a determinate anſwer to this propoſal. Boniface likewiſe, having received another embaſſy from the diet at Frankfort to the ſame purpoſe, evaded giving a poſitive anſwer as to the ceſſion, but treated the ambaſſadors with great reſpect, and granted particular favours to them and their friends [u].

The kings of England and France ſolicit both popes to reſign.

The emperor Wenceſlaus, who had neglected to appear at the diet at Frankfort, ſent deputies to Rome, to inform

[t] Spond. Annal.

[u] Harpsfield, Hiſt. Wickliffe, cap. 14.

the pope, that he proposed an interview with the king of France at Rheims, to consult of the means for terminating the schism; he therefore desired his holiness to send two of his cardinals thither, with full power to treat upon
A.D. 1398. that subject. Boniface wrote to the emperor, dissuading him earnestly from that journey; however, his letter had no effect: Wenceslaus arrived at Rheims in the month of March, where he was treated with great magnificence by the French king. At his persuasion the emperor agreed to the means of cession; and the bishop of Cambray went as deputy from both princes, to desire Boniface to consent to a resignation. The pope, being informed by the bishop, that the emperor and the French king had determined to withdraw their obedience from that pope who refused to agree to the means of cession, declared, that if they could prevail with Benedict to abdicate, he would likewise satisfy both princes. The emperor, being informed at Coblentz, by the bishop, of this declaration of the pope, desired the king of France to oblige his pope to abdicate, declaring that he would then compel Boniface to resign. In consequence of this representation of the emperor, a general council of the nobles, prelates, and doctors of France, was held at Paris, which determined, that Benedict should be desired to resign; and, if he did not voluntarily agree to an abdication, that he should be compelled to it by force. The bishop of Cambray accordingly went to Avignon; and Benedict absolutely refusing to abdicate, the city was immediately invested by marshal Boucicaut, who, being admitted by the citizens, took possession of the palace, in which he confined the anti-pope under a guard of one hundred men [w]. Upon Benedict's refusal to abdicate, nineteen of his cardinals left Avignon before the place was invested. The king of France, having withdrawn his obedience from him, solicited the king of England to refuse obedience to Boniface, and to agree to a neutrality; but though that prince inclined to hearken to the proposal of his father-in-law, yet the clergy of England would not consent [x]. The French king likewise wrote to the emperor, informing him of what had been done to Benedict, and desiring him to act in the same manner towards Boniface; but Wenceslaus excused himself, by alleging, that he must consult with the kings of Poland and Hungary, and with the princes of the empire [y].

Boniface consents to resign, after Benedict had abdicated.

Benedict, refusing to abdicate, is imprisoned by the French king.

[w] Froissar. lib. iv. cap. 97. [x] Idem. cap. 99. [y] Bzov. hoc ann.

The

The pope, in the mean time, residing undisturbed at Assisi, published a bull, by which he reserved, for the use of the apostolic chamber, the first year's revenues of all vacant bishopricks and abbacies, under the name of annates, or first-fruits[z]; so that whoever wanted to be promoted to the dignity of archbishop, bishop, or abbot, should beforehand be obliged to pay one year's revenue of his church or abbacy. This bull was soon submitted to by the clergy in all the provinces of Christendom, except in England, where the bishopricks were only allowed to be taxed[a] (W). Mean while, as the beginning of a new century approached, when the Romans expected another jubilee, they sent deputies to Boniface, intreating him to return to Rome, being afraid, that, if he should absent himself, the resort of pilgrims to their city would be

A.D. 1399.

Boni ace publishes a bull, reserving the annates of all vacant benefices.

[z] Niem, lib ii. cap. 7.

[a] Spond. Annales.

(W) This is the first bull for establishing perpetual annates; yet, if antiquity can give authority for that exaction, the payment of the first-fruits is mentioned by Hostiensis, who wrote about one hundred and thirty years before this period; and in the council of Vienne, held under Clement V. it was decreed, that annates should be abolished; and that, in their stead, the twentieth part of the revenues of priests should be paid to the apostolic see John XXII. the successor of Clement, published a bull, whereby he reserved the first year's fruits of all ecclesiastical benefices that continued vacant for three years, archbishopricks, bishopricks, and abbacies being exempted; but by degrees the first-fruits were exacted, without observing whether the benefices were vacant three years or not. The same pope afterwards published a bull, reserving for his life all benefices that became vacant in his court. Benedict XII. who succeeded John, followed his example, which was also imitated by some succeeding popes; but the authority of their bulls extended no farther than their own life. What was before local and particular, Boniface decreed to be universal and perpetual Before the schism, annates are said to have been collected at different times after the incumbent had taken possession, and frequently great part of the tax was never raised: but after the schism, a large part of the tax was raised before the delivery of the bull confirming the collation, and bonds were given for the payment of the rest. Soon after the whole first-fruits were exacted beforehand; and, lastly, the tax under the name of annates was not only imposed at pleasure, but frequently doubled, tripled, and quadrupled (1).

(1) Spond. ex Cod. Victor. Niem, de Schismatic.

greatly

greatly leſſened. Boniface refuſed to conſent to their requeſt, unleſs they conſented that the city ſhould be governed by a ſenator of his own appointment. The Romans, not willing at that time to diſoblige the pope, not only took the government from the bannerets, but received Malateſta of Peſaro as their ſenator, at the appointment of Boniface, to whom they ſent money to defray the expences of his journey to Rome. Upon his return to that capital, Boniface fortified the caſtle of St. Angelo, the Capitol, and the bridges, and by degrees made himſelf abſolute maſter of the city, ſo that he is reckoned the firſt pope who intirely transferred the authority from the people [b] (X). Though it does not appear

[b] Platin. in Bonif. IX. Blond. dec. ii. lib. x.

(X) Theodoric de Niem and Antoninus deſcribe a ſcene of devotion in Italy this year, to which they were eye-witneſſes. Niem ſays it firſt aroſe from ſome ſeducers that had come into Italy from Scotland, one of whom pretended that he was Elias the prophet, and that the world would quickly periſh by an earthquake. Antoninus is uncertain where that kind of devotion firſt appeared, as he ſays ſome aſſerted that it came from Spain, others from Scotland or England, and ſome from France. From whence, according to Sigonius and Platina, a prieſt arrived in Italy, clothed in white, with great appearance of modeſty, and ſeduced infinite numbers of people of both ſexes and all ages. The penitents, among whom were ſeveral cardinals and prieſts, were clothed in white linen down to their heels, with caps on their heads, which covered their whole faces, except their eyes. They went in great troops of ten, twenty, and forty thouſand perſons, from one city to another, calling out for mercy, and ſinging hymns in the Latin and vulgar tongue. Wherever they came, they were received with great hoſpitality, and joined by the inhabitants of thoſe places, as thoſe who did not follow their proceſſions were looked upon as heretics (1). They faſted or lived on bread and water during the time of their pilgrimage, which continued generally nine or ten days. At night they ſlept in churches, monaſteries, and church-yards, men and women without diſtinction. Sigonius and Platina relate, that the pilgrims ſtopped at Viterbo; and Platina ſays, that Boniface, afraid that the prieſt intended, by their aſſiſtance, to ſeize the pontificate, ſent a body of troops thither, who apprehended the falſe prophet, and carried him to Rome, where he was burnt (2).

(1) Annal. Mediol. ap. Murator. Epiſc. Bonon. Anton. tit. xxii. c. 3. (2) Platina, Sigon. de Niem. lib. ii. cap. 16.

that

that Boniface appointed a jubilee to be held in the beginning of the century; yet in the following year great numbers of people flocked to Rome from different nations of Europe, particularly from France, although the king in consideration of the poverty of his kingdom, had published an edict, prohibiting his subjects from going to Rome. As the plague raged in Italy, and especially at Rome, where [c] seven or eight hundred people died daily, very few of the pilgrims returned home, and great numbers of them were robbed, and the women ravished by the pope's soldiers in the neighbourhood of the city [d].

A.D. 1400.

A jubilee celebrated at Rome.

The electors of Germany, having deposed Wenceslaus, on account of his bad government, and chosen Rupert or Robert duke of Bavaria, and count palatine of the Rhine, as emperor, Boniface confirmed his election, and invited him to Rome, to receive the imperial crown. Robert being also invited by the Florentines to oppose the progress of Galeas Visconti, who had conquered almost all Lombardy, and purchased the title of duke of Milan from Wenceslaus, he assembled a considerable army, and the next year entered Italy about the end of autumn. As the troops of Galeas were accustomed to war, they put the Germans to flight in a skirmish near Brescia, so that the emperor was obliged to retire to Trent, where he was abandoned by the greatest part of his troops: however, at the intreaty of the Florentines, who promised him a reinforcement, he advanced with the remains of his army to Padua, where he continued some months in expectation of succours from the Italians, whose interest it was to humble Galeas. But as they did not exert themselves so much as he expected, he left Italy in the month of April, and returned to Germany.

The pope confirms the election of the duke of Bavaria, as emperor.

Mean while in France the party of the anti-pope began to revive; the duke of Orleans, the king's brother, and the university of Thoulouse, professed their obedience to Benedict; the kings of Castile and Arragon supported his cause, and several treatises were published, condemning the proceedings of the council of Paris. On the other hand, the university of Paris, supporting its former decrees, declared, that whoever asserted that the withdrawing of obedience from him, was unjust, were abettors and promoters of the schism. The cardinals who had seceded from Benedict, and who resided at Senlis, together with the patriarch of Alexandria, and some other prelates, de-

A.D. 1402.

[c] Bonin. lib. iv. [d] Niem de Schism.

clared,

clared, that as the withdrawing of obedience from Benedict had not succeeded in putting an end to the schism, a general council should be called of those that adhered to Benedict. But this method was not followed; for great disputes arose, whether the anti-pope should not first be restored to his liberty, and be obeyed as formerly; which propositions were condemned by the majority, who published a great many reasons, justifying their opinion [e].

The duke of Milan dies while he was proposing to assume the title of king of Italy.

During these disputes in France, the duke of Milan had marched with an army against Bologna, having taken that city, with Pisa, Perugia, and Sienna, he had provided a crown, with the intention of assuming the title of king of Italy, and sent his army to invest Florence, which was reduced to the utmost despair. In the midst of these successes he was seized with a fever, and died on the 3d of September, leaving his possessions to his two sons. Boniface seized the opportunity of his death to recover several cities of the ecclesiastical state which he had usurped. Bologna, Perugia, and Ferrara, voluntarily submitted, and some other places that resisted, were taken and dismantled. About the same time, being informed that the Hungarians had imprisoned their king Sigismond, and offered their crown to the king of Naples, the pope encouraged Ladislaus to take possession of Hungary, and ordered cardinal Acciaioli to accompany him in the expedition as his legate. Ladislaus accordingly sailed to Dalmatia, and, at the intreaty of the Hungarian nobles, proceeded to Javarin, where he was crowned in the month of August by the cardinal legate. But he was immediately obliged to quit the kingdom; for Sigismond, who some time before had escaped from his confinement to Germany, had assembled an army in his brother's kingdom of Bohemia, and returned to Hungary, where he was joyfully received by the greatest part of his subjects. Boniface, by countenancing the claims of Ladislaus to Hungary, and confirming the election of the duke of Bavaria to the empire, lost the obedience of Sigismond and Wenceslaus, who from that time acknowledged the anti-pope [f].

A D. 1403.

The anti-pope escapes from prison, and in some measure recovers his authority.

Benedict had made his escape from Avignon, and was again acknowledged by the king of France, upon his declaring he would consent to a resignation, on condition either of the death, abdication, or deposition, of his adversary. This submission, however, was of very short continuance; for the anti-pope, notwithstanding the in-

[e] Vide Spond. Annal. hoc an. [f] Magn. Chron. Belg.

treaties

treaties of his moſt zealous adherent, the duke of Orleans, abſolutely refuſing to confirm the elections and collations that had been made during his confinement, the king, towards the end of December, publiſhed an edict, declaring, that he would defend the poſſeſſors, and prohibiting all his ſubjects from paying any money, under any pretence, to the anti-pope, or receiving any of his bulls [g]. In the courſe of the following year, the univerſity of Paris made a grand proceſſion to the church of St. Catherine, for the extinction of the ſchiſm; but they were attacked by the ſervants of the duke of Orleans, who ſtill adhered to Benedict. The anti-pope ſoon after ſent two biſhops, with ſome others, to Boniface, to treat of an accommodation. They arrived at Rome on the 21ſt of September, and, upon promiſing to pay the accuſtomed honours to the pope, were admitted to an audience, in which they declared, that Benedict was moſt willing to treat of an union, and deſired Boniface to appoint a ſafe place where conferences might be held betwixt the two popes for that purpoſe. As Boniface was then afflicted with a fit of the gravel, the nuncios of the anti-pope were deſired to wait a few days. They accordingly had a ſecond audience on the feaſt of St. Michael, when, inſtead of agreeing to a conference, both parties mutually reproached each other. Boniface ſurvived this conteſt only two days; for, being ſeized with a fever, he died on the firſt of October. The nuncios were impriſoned in the caſtle of St. Angelo, in breach of the ſafe-conduct that had been granted them by the pope, and were not ſet at liberty until they paid five thouſand florins [h].

A.D. 1404.

Boniface dies at Rome.

At the death of Boniface, there only remained twelve cardinals of his party, and four of them were abſent from the city, the other eight entered the conclave; and, having bound themſelves by an oath, that, which ſoever of them ſhould be elected pope, he might freely abdicate, if the anti-pope would do the ſame, they unanimouſly elected Coſmato Melcorato, of the kingdom of Naples, a cardinal of the title of the Holy Croſs in Jeruſalem, who, having aſſumed the name of Innocent VII. was conſecrated on the 4th of November. Immediately after his promotion, great diſputes happened in Rome betwixt the Guelphs and Gibellines, about the government of the city. The families of Colonna and Savelli, with ſome other nobles and chiefs of the Gibellines, endeavoured to

Innocent VII. is elected.

[g] Spond. Annal. [h] Dionyſ. Monach. Juven. in Car. VI.

reſtore

reſtore the government of the bannerets; but they were oppoſed by the Urſini, and other Guelphs. Several ſkirmiſhes enſued, till Ladiſlaus, king of Naples, at the intreaty of the Gibellines, arriving with a large body of troops at Rome, ſettled the government on a footing not very advantageous for the church, as he left the power in the hands of the people, in hopes of uſurping it afterwards in his own perſon[i]. In conſequence of this ſettlement, Innocent was greatly harraſſed with the impudent demands of the new governors, who had received ſome troops from Ladiſlaus. In his own defence, he was obliged to hire two or three thouſand men as a guard; but, being of a mild diſpoſition, he endeavoured to appeaſe the Romans by offices of kindneſs, and created eleven cardinals, five of whom were Romans, one of them of the family of Colonna. The Gibelline faction attacked his guard upon Ponte Molle; but being repulſed, they made an unſucceſsful attempt upon his palace. A few days after this fray, ſome of the chief citizens came to the pope, to treat of a reconciliation. They were attacked upon their return, without his knowledge, by order of his nephew, and eleven of them, being apprehended, were cruelly put to death. The city, upon the news of this violence, was immediately in an uproar, and the friends of the deceaſed ſeizing Adrian's bridge, prepared to attack the caſtle. Innocent immediately left his palace, and fled with his army to Sutri, and from thence to Viterbo[k]. Upon his departure the Romans broke into the palace, where they deſtroyed a great many books and regiſters; and a conſiderable reinforcement of troops arriving from Ladiſlaus, John Colonna admitted them into the city and caſtle.

A.D. 1405.

He is harraſſed by the Romans;

and obliged to retire to Viterbo.

Mean while Benedict arrived by ſea at Genoa, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy: but as he brought a large body of troops along with him, which was daily increaſing, the Genoeſe, afraid of their liberties, took an opportunity, when the forces were exerciſing without the gates, to ſhut them out of their city. The anti-pope was greatly offended at this inſult, and ſoon after returned to Nice in Provence; but, while he continued in Italy, he ſent to Innocent, deſiring letters of ſafe-conduct for ſome perſons whom he intended to ſend to him to treat of an accommodation. Innocent,

[i] Anton. tit. xxii. cap. 4. Niem, cap. 34, 35. Leonard Aretini, ap. Murator. tom. xix. p. 923.

[k] Comment.

believing

believing his professions were not sincere, refused his request; upon which denial his adversary triumphed, and published the transaction to the world, accusing the pope of having no inclination to terminate the schism. Innocent endeavoured to refute the assertions of the anti-pope; but Niem accused them both of mutual altercation, with a design to protract the schism [l]. During these disputes, Innocent, being informed that the king of England had caused the archbishop of York to be executed on account of an insurrection that he had headed, he excommunicated all those who were concerned in the prelate's death; but the anathema was disregarded in England. Next year, A.D. 1406.

He returns to Rome, where he dies.

the Romans, taking umbrage at the Neapolitan troops, and understanding that the pope was innocent of the murder of the deputies, intreated him to return to the city. He accordingly arrived in the beginning of Lent; and soon after excommunicated and deposed Ladislaus, for having attacked the territories of the church. The king of Naples, struck with this unexpected blow, immediately solicited an accommodation, which was concluded by the mediation of the pope's nephew and Paul Ursini. Niem, however, affirms, that Innocent intended to renew the processes against the king, but was prevented by death, which overtook him on the 7th of November.

Upon Innocent's death, his cardinals deliberated for some time whether or not they should elect a successor, as the French had bound their pope by solemn promises to abdicate, on condition that the other pope would resign, or that his cardinals would omit the election of a successor. At length the cardinals at Rome, being afraid of a sedition in the city, determined to proceed to an election; but previously bound themselves by an oath, that, which soever of them should be elected, he should abdicate the pontificate, on condition that the anti-pope would resign. Angelus Corrarius, a Venetian, cardinal of the title of St. Mark, was elected pope, and took the name of Gregory XII. but, before his coronation, he renewed the former oath, and wrote to the anti-pope, exhorting him to resign, and appoint a place where the cardinals of both parties might unananimously agree to the election of a pope; which letter was answered by Benedict almost in the same terms [m]. Letters likewise passed between the cardinals of

Gregory XII. is chosen pope.

A.D. 1407.

He promises to abdicate, and exhorts the anti-pope to resign.

[l] Niem. cap. 38. [m] Aretin. Niem, ut supra.

both

both parties. On the 15th of March, Gregory sent other nuncios to Benedict, and, after much dispute, it was agreed, that the popes, with their cardinals, should meet at Savona, on the Genoese coast, at the feast of St. Michael, or at All Saints. The Genoese, being informed of this determination, offered hostages for the security of both parties, and promised to furnish all necessaries during the congress. The king of France likewise sent ambassadors to the popes, to exhort them to persevere in their intentions, who, arriving at Rome about the beginning of July, found Gregory averse to the congress at Savona, to which he raised several objections; and, notwithstanding all their remonstrances, insisted upon a change of place for the conferences. His objections gave great joy to Benedict, who wanted a fair pretence to delay the union; he therefore insisted upon standing to the former agreement, and obstinately refused to admit any alterations in the preliminary articles. Gregory had some excuse for refusing to go so far from Rome; for, a few weeks before the arrival of the ambassadors, Ladislaus, with the Gibelline exiles, had surprised the city, and obliged the pope to save himself in the castle of St. Angelo; they were, however, again expelled with considerable loss by Paul Ursini.

He alters his resolution.

In consequence of the preliminaries agreed to, Gregory at length, with great reluctance, quitted Rome on the 9th of August, and in the beginning of September arrived at Sienna, where he offered to resign the pontificate, on condition of enjoying, during his life, the patriarchate of Constantinople, some benefices in the republic of Venice, and the churches of York or Oxford, which were then said to be vacant, and that some territories in the ecclesiastical state might be conferred on his three nephews and their heirs. Though his cardinals agreed to this proposal, yet he found excuses for delaying his abdication; and let the time for the congress elapse without removing from Sienna. Mean while Benedict, with his cardinals, had
A.D. 1408. arrived at Savona on the 24th of September; after continuing there upwards of three months, he advanced, in the beginning of January, to Porto Venere, that he might seem to take away all objection from Gregory for delaying the conferences. As the pope still continued at Sienna, Benedict sent the archbishops of Rouen and Taragona to him, desiring him to agree to some intermediate place. Their journey was without effect; however, in the

the end of the month he advanced to Lucca. About the ſame time the king of France publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, declaring, that if the ſchiſm was not quickly terminated, he would withdraw obedience from Benedict at Witſuntide, and exhorting all other princes to reject the authority of both popes. Mean while, the popes pretending a diſtruſt of each other's intentions, all hopes of a conference vaniſhed. On the 9th of May, Gregory created four new cardinals, contrary to the opinion of the college, who refuſed to aſſociate with them, and deliberated among themſelves about deſerting the pope [n]. Accordingly they all, except four, left Lucca, and went to Piſa, where they publiſhed a writing, appealing from Gregory, firſt to Chriſt, then to a general council, and laſtly to a future pope. Benedict having ſent letters to Paris, prohibiting the withdrawing of obedience, under pain of excommunication, the parliament ordered the letters to be burnt, and, on the 25th of May, publiſhed a neutrality with regard to both popes; and orders were ſent to Buſſicald, governor of Genoa, to ſeize Benedict. The anti-pope, having notice of theſe orders, immediately quitted Italy, and fled to Elne, on the coaſt of Catalonia; but, before his departure, his cardinals had likewiſe deſerted him, and retired to Leghorn, where they entered into a correſpondence with thoſe at Piſa.

Is deſerted by his cardinals.

The cardinals likewiſe deſert Benedict.

The cardinals of both parties ſoon after uniting at Leghorn, on the 24th of July, publiſhed letters, addreſſed to all the prelates of Chriſtendom, appointing a general council to be held at Piſa in the following year, on the 25th of March. The popes being informed of theſe proceedings, likewiſe appointed general councils; Benedict ſummoned the council to aſſemble at Perpignan in November, while Gregory appointed it to be held the following Whitſuntide in the province of Aquileia, or exarchate of Ravenna, the particular place to be mentioned afterwards [o]. Gregory at that time had arrived at Sienna, where he continued ſeveral months, and, in September, created nine new cardinals, five, or, according to Niem, twelve cardinals being likewiſe created by the anti-pope at Perpignan. From Sienna the pope went to Rimini, where he wintered, the Romans refuſing to admit him into their city, as he had agreed to deliver up the eccleſi-

[n] Aretin, Niem, ut ſupra.

[o] Rer. Germ. Script. tom. i. p. 326.

siastical state to the king of Naples, in consideration of an annual pension in money [p]. Mean while, the French king having assembled the prelates of France, by their advice, on the 13th of October, published an edict, depriving all the adherents of Benedict of their benefices and dignities in his kingdom; and, a few days after, articles were drawn up for regulating the government of the Gallican church during the time of the neutrality. During these transactions in France, Benedict opened his council at Perpignan; but as there were but very few members, it was
A.D. 1409. prorogued to the 14th of the month, when about a hundred and twenty prelates assembled from Castile, Arragon, Navarre, Provence, and Savoy. It was continued, by eight sessions, to the 1st of February, before which time the greatest part of the prelates had left Perpignan. Those who remained exhorted the anti-pope to a resignation, and proposed some means for terminating the schism, to which Benedict subscribed.

A general council assembles at Pisa, and depose the two popes.

The general council was likewise opened at Pisa, at which were present twenty-two cardinals, three patriarchs, a hundred and eighty archbishops and bishops, three hundred abbots personally or by their proxies, and two hundred and eighty-two doctors of theology, besides deputies from the kings of France, England, Poland, and several other princes. This council having, in two or three sessions, cited the two popes to appear, at last declared them contumacious; after which sentence it adjourned to the 15th of April, when deputies arrived from the emperor, desiring the assembly to be transferred elsewhere; but as their petition was rejected, they appealed in their master's name; affirming, that a council could not be held without the emperor's authority. The council, on the 5th of June, published a sentence of deposition against both the popes, as obstinate schismatics and heretics, publicly convicted of perjury and breach of vows. A few days after the cardinals produced a writing, with their subscriptions, whereby they promised, that if any of them was elected pope, he should prorogue the council till a reformation of the universal church should be effected. They then entered the conclave on the 23d of June; and three days after elected Peter Philargi, a cardinal-priest, of the title of the Twelve Apostles, a Greek by nation, who took the name of Alexander V. The

Alexander V. is elected.

[p] Monach. Dionys.

new

new pope immediately presided at the council, confirmed their decrees, and annulled all the processes and sentences denounced by the popes against any persons, communities, kingdoms, &c. since the beginning of the schism. He likewise decreed, that a general council should be convened within three years afterwards; and, in the twenty-third and last session, which was held on the 7th of August, he ordained, that the Pisan council should be prorogued till the other general council should assemble.

As Ladislaus, king of Naples, had seized Rome, with several other cities of the ecclesiastical state, and was daily making new conquests in Tuscany, the Florentines, Siennese, and cardinal-legate at Bologna, made an alliance with his competitor, Lewis, duke of Anjou, who arrived at the council of Pisa, where he was received with great honour by Alexander. The pope confirmed to him the crown of Sicily, and appointed him standard-bearer of the church; after which ceremony he marched against Ladislaus, and quickly recovered the city of Rome, and several other places in the ecclesiastical state. Mean while Gregory held his council in the diocese of Aquileia, but there is no mention of any of its proceedings; only Niem relates, that, on the 5th of September, he published a writing, as from his council, declaring his willingness to abdicate; but the conditions which he proposed were so impracticable, that it might easily be perceived he had no inclination to resign [q].

He confers the crown of Naples on the duke of Anjou.

[q] Niem, cap. 45, & 46.

SECT. XII.

Council of Constance. The Schism in the Church terminated.

AS neither Gregory nor Benedict quitted their pretensions to the pontificate, the church was at this time provided with three popes; but Gregory was now acknowleged only by Ladislaus and a few cities of Italy; and Benedict, by the king of Scotland, the count of Armagnac, and the kings of Spain. All the rest of Christendom submitted to Alexander, who, after dismissing the council at Pisa, went from thence, first to Pistoia, and then to Bologna, from whence he wrote to Subinco, archbishop of Prague, ordering him to prohibit discoursing either publicly or privately upon the doctrines of Wickliffe. As the university of Prague, had in the former year condemned forty-five of Wickliffe's propositions, John Hus and his party had prevailed with Wenceslaus to deprive the foreigners of their privileges in that seminary; on which several thousands of Poles and Germans left Prague. After their departure, John, being elected rector of the university, and appointed preacher in one of the chief churches of the city, began to translate the writings of Wickliffe into the vulgar tongue, and in his discourses, exclaimed against the authority of the pope, purgatory, prayers for the dead, and several other doctrines of the Roman church. Upon hearing of the mandate of Alexander, he declared, that it was contrary to the actions and words of our Saviour and his apostles, who used to preach every-where; and he appealed to the pope himself, when better informed [a]. Alexander was prevented by death from proceeding any farther in that affair, as he died on the 3d of May, in the 11th month of his pontificate.

John Hus publishes the doctrine of Wickliffe at Prague.

A.D. 1410.

Alexander dies.

John XIII. is elected.

Upon the death of Alexander, the seventeen cardinals who were at Bologna chose cardinal Balthasar Cossa, a Neapolitan, who is said by some authors to have been elected by compulsive means, as he was legate in the city, and had the command of a great number of troops; however, Niem only alleges, that it was at the recommendation of Lewis, king of Naples, who was on the neighbouring coast with a powerful fleet. His promotion gave great scandal, as

[a] Cochlei Hist. Hussit. lib. i.

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he was more remarkable for his military than religious disposition; however, on the 25th of May he was consecrated, and took the name of John XXIII [b]. Being informed of the death of the emperor Robert, he sent nuncios to the electors, exhorting them to chuse Sigismond, king of Hungary. He likewise dispatched a legate into France, to demand the tithes, the revenues of vacant benefices, and the spoils of deceased clergymen, which he asserted belonged by natural and divine right to the apostolic chamber [c]. The university of Paris opposed this demand with great vigour, and proposed to appeal to a general council, and to deprive all those of the degree of master of arts who should submit to the payment of the subsidy required. John went afterwards to Rome, where, on the 23d of April, being the feast of St. George, he consecrated several standards, and appointed Lewis, king of Sicily, and Paul Ursini, general of his troops against Ladislaus, who had obliged the kingdom of Naples to acknowlege Gregory XII. whom he retained at Gaeta. The pope's army, advancing to Campania, on the 19th of May, entirely defeated Ladislaus, who fled in despair to St. Germains. But, notwithstanding the pressing instances of king Lewis, Paul Ursini refusing to pursue the victory, Ladislaus had leisure to repair his loss; upon which Lewis returned to Rome, and, dissatisfied with the conduct of the Italians, soon after went back to France. On the same day Ladislaus was defeated in Campania, the city of Bologna revolted from the church, two butchers having headed an insurrection and seized the government, which they held for more than a year. John being informed of the loss of Bologna, reinforced the troops with new levies, and, on the 16th of June created fourteen new cardinals. About the same time he received an embassy from the king of Poland, with very rich presents, desiring that he would approve of the war that he waged with the Tuetonic knights, and would declare that the sacred vessels taken out of the Prussian churches, and distributed in Poland, were lawful prizes. The pope granted these two requests, but refused a third demand made by the ambassadors, namely, that the king might have leave to cause a crusade to be preached against the Tartars. The pope refused to grant a crusade against

A D. 1411.

His troops gain a victory over the king of Naples;

[b] Aretin. ut supra, Anton. tit. xxvi. cap. 6. Gobelin. Person. ap. Rer. Germ. Script. tom. i. [c] Monstrelet, lib. i. cap. 67, & 70.

A.D. 1412. the Tartars, because he intended to make use of those sacred soldiers in defending the ecclesiastical state. He accordingly, in the beginning of the following year, published a crusade against Ladislaus, who was thereupon induced to agree to an accommodation, although the terms were not very honourable to the holy see; for the pope engaged to pay a tribute to the king, on condition that he ceased hostilities, and refused to acknowlege Gregory [d].

against whom he causes a crusade to be preached.

The Hussites, on account of this crusade, exclaim against the pope.

The preaching of this crusade at Prague gave a new opportunity to John Huss and his party to exclaim against the errors of the church; accordingly three of his followers, in three different churches, during the reading of the papal bull, called out that the pope was antichrist, who caused a crusade to be preached against Christians. These three were immediately apprehended and imprisoned, a circumstance which Huss was no sooner informed of, than he came at the head of two thousand men to the magistrates, demanding the liberty of the prisoners, offering to answer himself for their crime, if it was any crime to speak the truth. The senate dismissed the mob, by promising that nothing should be determined against the prisoners: however, next morning, they ordered them to be executed. Their friends, among whom were a great many students, immediately assembled, and wrapping the dead bodies in linen, carried them with great solemnity through the churches of the city, calling out, "These are the saints who have given their bodies for the testimony of God." Soon after the administration of the church of Prague was given to the bishop of Olmutz, who, by the advice of several members of the university, proposed some articles to the regent and nobles, as proper to put a stop to the disorders. The other party likewise presented nine propositions, about preserving the rights and liberties of the kingdom of Bohemia, and against defaming John Huss and his followers as heretics, without examining their cause. The articles proposed by the bishop were approved by an edict of Wenceslaus; in consequence of which John Huss was banished the city: however, the disturbances did not cease. his followers grew more outrageous, and censured the edict by public writings, which were again answered by the Catholic doctors [e].

[d] Spond. Annal. [e] Æn. Sylv. cap. 25. Dubrav. lib. 23. Cochl. lib. 1. Spond. Annal.

During

During these commotions in Bohemia, the pope celebrated a general council at Rome, which assembly was not very numerous, and on that account was prorogued. However, by their advice, on the 6th of January, John published a decree against the Hussites, ordering the books of Wickliffe to be searched for by the ordinaries, and burnt; and commanding all his followers to appear before the apostolic see within nine months, otherwise they should be convicted of heresy. Ladislaus again commenced hostilities, by surprizing the city of Rome, where he committed great barbarities, the pope and his cardinals, with much difficulty, escaping to Sutri, and from thence to Florence. The king quickly after made himself master of all the ecclesiastical state, as far as the frontiers of Sienna and Florence, while the pope earnestly solicited the assistance of the emperor Sigismund, who had entered Italy to terminate his differences with the Venetians. Though the emperor was desirous of putting a stop to the progress of Ladislaus, yet he would not consent at that time to engage in a war against him; but by frequent letters prevailed upon the pope to agree to a general council, as the most proper means to procure the peace of Italy. John accordingly sent two legates to the emperor, with full power to determine the place and time for holding the council, but cautioned them, not to agree to any place under the power of the emperor [f]. The legates, for what reason is uncertain, agreed to hold the council at Constance, an imperial city, in the diocese of Mentz; and the emperor published a letter, addressed to all the prelates, inviting them to come to the council, to be opened in that city on the 1st of November, in the following year, promising them a safe-conduct both in their coming and returning, and full security during their residence.

A.D. 1413.

A general council held at Rome.

The emperor enters Lombardy.

The pope, upon being informed of the proceedings of his legates, was greatly afflicted, as he foresaw that he should not be master of the deliberations of the council. But as there were no means of receding, he went to Placenza, where he had a conference with the emperor. Proceeding from thence to Lodi, on the 10th of December, he published a bull, appointing a general council to be held at the time and place above mentioned, not having been able to prevail with the emperor to agree to the nomination of any other city. Sigismund, before he left

Conferences betwixt him and the pope.

[f] Leonard Aret. ap. Muratori. tom. 19.

A.D. 1414. Italy, wrote to the two anti-popes, exhorting them to appear at the council, but both Benedict and Gregory protested against that assembly, and used their utmost endeavours to prevent its meeting. Mean while John having returned to Bologna from thence, wrote to the king of France, and to the university of Paris, desiring them to solicit the Bohemian Hussites to forsake the heresy of Wickliffe. But the intreaties of the university were without effect, for the Hussites grew every day more and more numerous. Peter of Dresden, having been obliged to quit his native country on account of his religious principles, insinuated to Sacobellus, one of their preachers, eminent for his learning and probity[g], that the church of Rome deceived the people, by denying them the use of the cup in the sacrament of the eucharist, contrary to the words of our Saviour, who says, "Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you[h]. This new opinion of the necessity of communicating under both kinds was received by the Hussites with great applause, as they now thought they could plainly convict the Roman church either of ignorance or impiety.

Ladislaus dies at Naples.

While the most inveterate enemies of the apostolic see were strengthening their party in Bohemia, the tranquillity of Italy was, in some measure, restored by the death of Ladislaus, who died at Naples on the 6th of August. By his death, John was delivered from a formidable enemy, and had now no great inclination to attach himself to the emperor; however, as every thing was settled for the meeting of the council at Constance, and as he was pressed to go thither by the cardinals, on the 1st of October he set out for that city, the magistrates having previously sworn to and signed some articles that he had proposed to them for his security. John arrived at Constance on the 28th of October, accompanied by nine cardinals, and all his court. On the 1st of November, after the celebration of mass by the pope and cardinal of Florence, he read a schedule concerning the celebration of the council, as a continuation of that of Pisa for the reformation of the state of the church, to be opened on the 30th of the month. The council however was not opened till the 5th of November, when the first session was appointed to be held on the 16th. On that day the pope made a discourse to the synod; after which the same cardinal of

[g] Æn. ut supra. [h] John. vi. 53.

Florence

Florence read the pope's admonition, concerning the moderation to be obſerved in the aſſembly, and about the conſideration of thoſe things that regarded the peace of the church, and the extirpation of the errors of Wickliffe; and to prevent any diſturbance about precedency, he declared that, with regard to the order of ſitting in the aſſembly, no prejudice ſhould ariſe to any perſon or church. The miniſters and officials of the council were then appointed; namely, four prothonotaries to inſpect and commit to writing all that ſhould be done in the ſynod, under whom were four notaries, one from each of the four principal nations of Italy, France, Germany, and England. The guard of the council was committed to Berthold Urſini, a Roman. Beſides, there were appointed four ſearchers of the votes, four doctors of law as advocates of the council, two procurators, and laſtly, four maſters of the ceremonies; after which precautions the council was prorogued till the 17th of December.

The pope opens the council at Conſtance.

Two days before the opening of the council, John Huſs arrived at Conſtance, on the faith of a ſafe-conduct granted by the emperor. There he employed his time in preaching to the people; and refuſing to deſiſt at the deſire of the pope, was apprehended and ſhut up in one of the chambers of the palace. The emperor ſent orders to enlarge the priſoner; but they were not obeyed by the pope, who inſiſted that he himſelf had not given John a ſafe-conduct. However, his confinement was in ſome meaſure relaxed: he was committed to the keeping of the biſhop of Lauſanne; and four cardinals, with the generals of the Dominican and Franciſcans, and ſix archbiſhops and biſhops, were commiſſioned to examine his faith. During theſe tranſactions the emperor received the crown at Aix la Chapelle, having with great expedition prepared every thing for his journey, he arrived in the evening of the 24th of December at Conſtance, with a grand retinue, and immediately went with the pope to the church, where, during the celebration of maſs by his holineſs, he aſſiſted in the habit of a deacon, according to cuſtom. As the ſecond ſeſſion, on account of the emperor's abſence, had been prorogued to the month of March, he in the mean time convoked a general congregation of the members of the council, and laid before them his negotiations with the anti-popes, in order to terminate the ſchiſm. He then regulated what regarded the liberty, ſecurity, and ſubſiſtence, of the ſtrangers at that time in Conſtance, the number of whom amounted to

John Huſs arrives at the city, and is impriſoned.

The emperor comes to the council.

A D. 1415.

to about a hundred thousand [i]: he likewise, at the request of the members, left the council at full liberty to deliberate and determine in matters of faith, thereby exposing John Huss to the resentment of the fathers, in violation of his own safe-conduct. Soon after some cardinals arrived from the anti-popes, in quality of nuncios, and, after a dispute, it was resolved to admit them with the ornaments of their dignity. The nuncios of Gregory proposed to prosecute on his part the means of cession, and desired that John might not preside in the council, to the decrees of which they promised all obedience. But those of Benedict only proposed a conference with the emperor and Ferdinand, king of Arragon, to be held in the city of Nice, in Provence [k].

The pope is accused of several crimes.

During the month of February, several other congregations were held, in which it was determined, contrary to the inclination of the pope, that the lay deputies of the kings, republics, and universities, should be admitted as members of the council, and that in the public sessions the votes should be given not by particulars but by nations. About the same time a memorial was presented, containing a long accusation of John XXIII. which, according to Niem, was thought to have been presented by an Italian, and included all the mortal sins, and an infinite number of abominations [l]. The pope, terrified at this accusation, proposed to confess himself to the council; but he was in some measure freed from his apprehensions, for it was resolved to suppress the memorial. However, it was agreed among all the nations, that the abdication of the pope would be the most proper means to terminate the schism: John, finding the council unanimously fixed in that resolution, with great reluctance, and after many subterfuges, accepted of a form of resignation presented to him by the patriarch of Antioch. Next day, being the 2d of March, was held the second session of the council in the cathedral church, where the pope, after the celebration of mass, read aloud the form of his abdication, by which he promised, vowed, and swore, before God, the church, and the council, to give peace to the church, by his resignation of the pontificate, on condition that the two anti-popes would do the same, or in any case wherein his abdication might be of service

He promises to abdicate;

[i] Nonder Hardt. lib. ii. Victor. & Diariis cerretani. ii. p. 291, & tom. iv. p. 41, 42.

[k] Spond. Annal. ex Act. Vic-

[l] Niem, ap. Vonder Hardt. tom.

to

to the church. He had no sooner read this form, than the emperor took off his crown, threw himself on his knees, and embraced his feet: the patriarch Antioch likewise thanked him in the name of the whole council. Then Sigismund and the whole council promised, that, if the other two popes did not likewise resign, they would stand by him, and assist him against them with all their temporal forces [m].

Sigismund having agreed to a conference with Benedict at Nice, in the month of June, mean while assembled another congregation; and on the 15th of March, by their advice, demanded of the pope, 1. That the council should not be dissolved till the union was effected: 2. That it should not be transferred elsewhere: 3. That the pope should not leave Constance: 4. That he should name a proxy, who should abdicate in his name: 5. That he should confirm the above propositions by his bulls: and, lastly, That the prelates and others, summoned to the council, should not depart, unless on account of sickness or poverty. The pope granted the first demand; as to the second, he declared, that it seemed more convenient to transfer the council to some place in the neighbourhood of Nice; to the third, that it would be more expedient that both he and the council should go towards Nice; to the fourth, that he chose rather to abdicate personally than by proxy; and to the last, he returned no answer. The council were not at all satisfied with these answers; and being apprehensive the pope would delay his abdication under various pretences, they again solicited him to name the emperor, and those prelates that were to accompany him to Nice, as his proxies. John still refused to consent, as being sensible that, if he once named proxies, he had then no opportunity to recede; and finding that the council was resolved to oblige him to abdicate, he asked leave of the emperor to quit Constance, pretending that the air of the city was prejudicial to his health [n]. Sigismund, who had placed guards at the gates of the city to prevent any one from leaving the council, was so far from giving him liberty to depart, that he obliged him to promise not to quit the city till the council should be dissolved. John, however, having concerted his retreat with the duke of Austria, notwithstanding the vigilance of the emperor, on the 20th of March escaped from Constance, disguised *but flies from Constance.*

[m] Spond. ex Act. Victor. 1136. Stumphius, p. 38.

[n] Roo Hist. Aust. lib. iv. p.

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in the habit of a groom, and fled to Schaffhausen, about four miles distance, from whence he wrote to Sigismund, declaring that he had not retired with the intention of eluding his promise of abdication, but that he might execute it with liberty and security.

This sudden flight of the pope occasioned great disputes among the members of the council; some affirming, that, as he had retired, the council was thereby dissolved, while others maintained that the authority of a council, in the necessities of the church, was superior to that of a pope. These last were supported by Sigismund, who, with the nobles of his court, made a progress through the city, and with great prudence quieted the disturbances, then calling the four different nations together, he assured them that he would protect the council, and, with the hazard of his life, restore the union of the church. Accordingly, to support the authority of the council in the third session, which was held on the 26th of March, it was decreed, that as the council had been legally assembled in Constance, it was not dissolved by the retreat of the pope or any other prelates; that it ought not to be dissolved till the church was reformed in faith and manners, both in the head and members; nor ought it to be transferred elsewhere without mature deliberation; that no members ought to retire till it was dissolved, unless their reasons for removing were approved by the council, and that then they should be bound to leave their proxies with those who remained. Next day three cardinals, who had visited the pope, returned to Constance, with a letter and mandate from him, declaring that he was willing to appoint proxies for his abdication; desiring that the king of the Romans and the council would provide for his security, and that of the duke of Austria, who had been put to the ban of the empire for assisting him to make his escape. What reception these offers of the pope met with does not appear; but two days after he protested before a notary and several witnesses, that he was not bound to perform what he had promised and sworn at Constance, as he was influenced by fear and force. He then left Schaffhausen, and proceeded, in the midst of a heavy rain, to the castle of Louffenberg. The fourth session of the council was held next day, the 30th of March, in which it was decreed, that the council, having been legally assembled, represented the Catholic militant church, and received its authority immediately from Christ; and that every one, of what

The council continues.

what dignity ſoever, the pontifical not excepted, was bound to obey its decrees, regarding the faith and extirpation of ſchiſm; that all the cenſures of the pope againſt any prelates or eccleſiaſtics ſhould be null and void; and that none ſhould be accounted cardinals, but thoſe who were acknowleged as ſuch before the ſucceſſion of John [a].

Its authority is declared ſuperior to the pope.

In the fifth ſeſſion, held on the 6th of April, the council explained and confirmed their former decrees: they then reſolved, that John was bound to reſign, in any caſe whatever, that would promote the union of the church; that if he refuſed, he ſhould be reckoned depoſed; and if he would not return to Conſtance, the council ſhould proceed againſt him as a perſon ſuſpected of hereſy, and author of ſchiſm. After theſe determinations ſome overtures were read, regarding the condemnation of Wickliff's doctrine, and for regulating the manner of proceeding in diſcuſſing the cauſe of John Huſs, to examine which ſeveral doctors of divinity and law were appointed. Mean while the pope retired from Louffenberg to Friburgh; but before he left that caſtle he wrote to the different princes of Europe, and to the univerſity of Paris, excuſing his flight from Conſtance, alleging that the emperor had deprived the council of liberty, by ſhutting the gates of the city, and that he had preſumed, on different occaſions, to preſide at their deliberations; that although in general councils no difference of nations ought to be obſerved, yet it had been ordained, that each nation ſhould have but one voice, although from France and Italy there were preſent two hundred prelates, and only three from England, with nine other eccleſiaſtics; and that in the aſſemblies, laymen as well as clergymen had been admitted to give their votes, although by the canons, the right of voting in general councils only belonged to cardinals, patriarchs, archbiſhops, and biſhops. The council, in their own juſtification, publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, wherein they declared, that the pope had forbid all perſons to leave the council, under pain of excommunication; that, nevertheleſs, the city being daily deſerted, he had deſired the emperor to provide againſt the evil, who thereupon had not ſhut the gates, but only guarded them for part of a day; that, for diſpatch of buſineſs, the council had appointed the form of deliberating by nations, but, nevertheleſs, in the

[a] Marten Anec. lib. ii. p. 1618, 1620.

ſeſſions

ſeſſions every member had a liberty of ſpeaking what he pleaſed; that John had acted contrary to the example of former popes, particularly of Symmachus and Sixtus, who did not ſeek to diminiſh the authority of the council by their flight, but ſubmitted humbly to its decrees: they then concluded, with teſtifying their deſire that John would return to their council.

On the 17th of April, a few days before they publiſhed this letter, the ſixth ſeſſion of the council was held, wherein it was decreed, that John ſhould be obliged to appoint proxies for his reſignation, according to a form then read, and that an honourable embaſſy ſhould be ſent to him to inform him of this decree, and to invite him to return to the neighbourhood of Conſtance. Jerome of Prague, the aſſociate of John Huſs, was likewiſe ſummoned to the council, and a ſafe-conduct granted to him; but, according to Spondanus, it was mentioned as an exception, in as far as the Catholic faith admitted. The ambaſſadors of the council found the pope at Briſac, from whence, after their arrival, he fled to Neuenburgh, with the deſign of putting himſelf under the protection of the duke of Burgundy. But he was prevailed upon to return to Friburgh, where he had a conference for three days with the ambaſſadors, and promiſed to reſign, on condition of impunity for his paſt and future proceedings, and that he ſhould ſtill continue cardinal, and be appointed legate à latere for his life in Italy, with ſeveral extravagant privileges. The legates giving an account of their embaſſy in the ſeventh ſeſſion, held on the 2d of May, the council ſummoned the pope to appear at Conſtance within nine days, to anſwer for his flight and other matters, and granted him a ſafe-conduct, which was confirmed by the emperor. Jerome of Prague was likewiſe declared contumacious, for not having appeared according to his former citation. In the eighth ſeſſion, the writings of Wickliffe were prohibited, and ordered to be burnt; a great many of his propoſitions were condemned, and his bones were ordered to be dug up and thrown into profane ground. Next day, by the advice of the council, Sigiſmund was reconciled to the duke of Auſtria, who finding himſelf unable to preſerve his dominions, in conſequence of the ban, came and ſubmitted in a moſt humble manner, promiſed to bring the pope back to the council, and, as a ſecurity, reſigned, by a ſolemn act, all his poſſeſſions into the hands of the emperor. Upon this agreement, Sigiſmund ſent two archbiſhops,

archbishops, and a body of three hundred men, to Friburgh, to seize the pope, who seemed not displeased to return to Constance, but, while he protracted the time, he sent a proxy to two cardinals to plead his cause before the council. This bull, however, was rejected at the ninth session, held on the 13th of May, the council insisting that proxies could not be admitted, as the citation was personal. Next day, in the tenth session, John with his followers were declared contumacious, and a sentence of suspension from the pontificate was denounced against him, as guilty of simony and many other scandalous vices. The pope arriving, under a guard, at Ratoffcell, within two leagues of Constance, five cardinals were sent to him to inform him of the proceedings of the council; to which he declared his submission, but wrote to the emperor and the council, intreating them to have some regard to his honour, his person, and his estate. In the following session, held on the 25th of May, fifty-four articles were read against the pope, accusing him of various crimes, for the proof of which the witnesses were mentioned: three other articles were likewise added, concerning his poisoning his predecessor, and denying the resurrection of the dead and a future life; but for these no witnesses could be produced. The articles for which there was proof were carried to the pope, and he was desired to answer them; but he still declaring his willingness to submit to the council, on the 29th of May, in the twelfth session, a definitive sentence of deposition was denounced against him, which he next day confirmed by a public instrument, and immediately laid aside all the pontifical ornaments. A.D. 1415.

The council deposes the pope.

This affair of the deposition of the pope being terminated to the satisfaction of the council, they proceeded to determine the cause of John Huss. On the 7th of June he was called before a private assembly, in presence of the emperor, who exhorted him to submit to the authority of the council, and promised, from a regard to his brother Wenceslaus and the kingdom of Bohemia, he would dismiss him safe; otherwise, instead of being a protector to him in his errors, he would, with his own hands, light the fire to which he would be condemned. John pleaded the safe-conduct that the emperor had given him, and declared, that he came to the council not to defend his doctrines with a perverse obstinacy, but to retract them if he should be taught any thing that was better. Next day he was again called before the emperor and several prelates, and

John Huss desires his doctrines to be examined.

and deſired to abjure twenty-ſix heretical articles, drawn from his treatiſe upon the church; John required of them not to be compelled to do any thing againſt his conſcience. He ſaid ſeveral of the articles he had never taught, and therefore could not renounce them; the reſt he was willing to forſake upon being better inſtructed. The emperor and the prelates not being ſatisfied with theſe conditional ſubmiſſions, John was conducted to priſon; and in the thirteenth ſeſſion, held on the 15th of June, the proctors of the council deſired the condemnation of ſome errors concerning the euchariſt: accordingly it was decreed, that though Chriſt inſtituted and adminiſtered the ſacrament after ſupper, under both kinds, of bread and wine, nevertheleſs, according to the laudable cuſtom of the church, and the authority of the ſacred canons, it ought not to be conſecrated after ſupper, nor received by the faithful, unleſs when faſting, except in caſe of ſickneſs, or of any other neceſſity admitted by the church; and although in the primitive church the ſame ſacrament was received by the faithful under both kinds, yet, to avoid ſeveral ſcandals, the cuſtom had been juſtly introduced, that the laity ſhould receive it under the bread alone, as it ought to be moſt firmly believed that the entire body of Chriſt is wholly contained under each kind ſeparately; and that thoſe who obſtinately aſſerted that the obſervation of this cuſtom was ſacrilegious and unlawful, ought to be puniſhed by the ordinaries and inquiſitors of hereſy.

Gregory XII. abdicates the pontificate.

In the next ſeſſion, held on the 4th of July, the emperor preſided, till the deputies from pope Gregory read his bulls, approving the council, not as having aſſembled by order of pope John, whom he ſtyled Balthaſar Coſſa, but as ſummoned by the authority of Sigiſmund. The emperor then retired to his own place, and the council confirmed all the proceedings of Gregory, during his adminiſtration of the pontificate; received his ſix cardinals, and himſelf as a ſeventh, into the ſacred college, and annulled all the cenſures that had been denounced by either party againſt the other. Charles Malateſta, lord of Rimini, as proxy for Gregory, then made a ſolemn renunciation of the pontificate in his name; upon which the council ſung Te Deum, and decreed, that Gregory ſhould be always accounted next to the pope in dignity and rank, and declared perpetual legate à latere in the March of Ancona. In the fifteenth ſeſſion, John Huſs was introduced into the council, and placed upon a high ſeat in the

the view of the whole assembly, as a person convicted of heresy by those who had been appointed to examine him, although his judges had used no arguments to disprove his doctrines, but only insisted that he ought to submit his judgment to a general council. After he was seated, an order was read, enjoining the strictest silence, under pain of excommunication and two months imprisonment: then the propositions of Wickliffe were read and condemned: John Huss was declared an obstinate heretic; ordered to be degraded, and to be delivered to the secular court; and his writings were condemned to the flames. In consequence of this sentence, he was stripped of his sacerdotal habit, a paper mitre, painted with devils, was put upon his head, and he was delivered to the magistrate of Constance, who the same day ordered him to be burnt alive without the city. Ænæas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II. in his history of Bohemia, relates, that he walked to the stake as chearfully as if he had been going to an entertainment, and, while he was burning, sung an hymn with a loud and strong voice [p]. Though his ashes were thrown into the lake, yet his disciples carried off the earth on which he suffered, which was distributed amongst his followers, and preserved by them as sacred relicks [q]. The news of his death no sooner reached Bohemia than the nobles and barons, who had embraced his doctrine, wrote threatening letters to the council, and entered into an association for their mutual defence [r]. In the same session the council condemned the maxim, "That it was lawful and meritorious to kill a tyrant, by any means, notwithstanding any alliance with him, or oath of allegiance (Z)."

John Huss is condemned and burnt.

The

[p] Æn. Hist. Boem. cap. 36. [q] Idem ibid. [r] In Paralip. ad Urspeng.

(Z) The acts of council do not mention what it was that gave occasion to this decree; but Spondanus, with great probability, refers it to the dispute raised in France, on account of the murder of the duke of Orleans, by his cousin the duke of Burgundy, in 1407. One John Parvi, a Parisian divine, had justified this murder in eight articles he had published, alleging, that, as the duke of Orleans was a tyrant, above the reach of the laws, it was lawful and meritorious to kill him. These articles were condemned by the bishop of Paris, and by the inquisitor; and, the affair being carried before

The emperor goes to Perpignan, where he has a conference with Benedict;

The council having now removed two popes, in the next ſeſſion, held on the 11th of July, appointed twelve proxies, to accompany the emperor to the conference with the king of Arragon and Benedict XIII. which was now to be held in Spain. In the ſeventeenth ſeſſion, the emperor received the benediction of the council, anathemas were denounced againſt any who ſhould interrupt his journey, and indulgences were granted to thoſe who prayed for his ſucceſs. On the 18th Sigiſmund quitted Conſtance, with an eſcort of four thouſand horſe, and arrived ſoon after at Narbonne; but, being obliged to delay his journey on account of the ſickneſs of the king of Arragon, he did not reach Perpignan before the 18th of September. Benedict, or Peter de Luna, at firſt refuſed to come to the conferences, unleſs the emperor would honour him as pope; but Sigiſmund abſolutely rejecting that demand, he at laſt arrived at Perpignan. However, he ſtill refuſed to abdicate, and inſiſted that, as he had now no competitor, the only way to terminate the ſchiſm was to acknowlege him as pope. The emperor, highly offended at this obſtinacy, threatened to compel him to a reſignation, and left Perpignan. After he had returned to Narbonne, being informed that Benedict had fled to the ſtrong city of Peniſcola, on the coaſt of Valentia, he invited him to return to Perpignan, but without effect. By this obſtinacy Benedict loſt all his adherents; the clergy of Scotland acknowleged the authority of the council of Conſtance, and the kings of Arragon, Caſtile, and Navarre, and the count of Armagnac, ſent deputies to the emperror at Narbonne, where a capitulation was concluded, under twelve articles, importing, that the prelates at Conſtance ſhould write circular letters to the princes and prelates hitherto in the obedience of Benedict, inviting them to the council; and that, upon their arrival, they ſhould conſult with the reſt about the union and reformation of the church, and the election of a new pope.

who refuſes to abdicate.

During theſe tranſactions of the emperor, the council aſſembled on the 17th of Auguſt, and appointed ſome

the council, it was debated there with great warmth, and ſome of thoſe, who held the affirmative, were in hazard of their lives (1).

(1) Spond. Annal. hoc an.

biſhops

bishops from each of the nations to judge the causes and complaints that should be brought before the council. In the next session, held on the 23d of September, Jerome of Prague, a layman, and master of arts, publicly abjured the errors of Wickliffe, and acknowleged himself exposed to the severity of the canons if he should ever teach any thing contrary to the catholic doctrine; which abjuration and profession he delivered to the council written with his own hand. He, however, afterwards retracted, and endeavoured to escape; but was brought back from the confines of Bohemia, by John, duke of Bavaria, and shut up in a dark and loathsome dungeon in the bottom of a tower, in which situation he continued several months. In the same session the council confirmed the decrees of the emperor Frederic II. and Charles IV. concerning immunity of ecclesiastics; and in the twentieth session, held on the 29th of November, a monitory was published against Frederic, duke of Austria, for his invasion of the privileges and possessions of the church of Trent. There are no other proceedings of the council mentioned during this year; but on the 31st of January, in a general session, the capitulation of Narbonne was confirmed, and a few days after letters of convocation to the Spanish princes and prelates were published, according to the form agreed to betwixt the deputies. Mean while Ferdinand, king of Arragon, prohibited, by a public edict, any of his subjects from obeying Benedict; who, in return, assembled his friends at Penisсola, and demanded a sentence of deposition and excommunication against Ferdinand. After the publication of the citation for the Spanish prelates, the deliberations of the members of the council were not so frequent, as they waited for the arrival of the emperor, who had proceeded to France, and from thence to England, to reconcile these two kingdoms, and to ask succours against the Turks, who were then ravaging Hungary. In the twenty-first session, which was held on the 29th of May, Jerome of Prague, after having, with great eloquence and intrepidity, defended his doctrines in several private audiences, was introduced into the council, and condemned as an obstinate and relapsed heretic. He was then delivered to the secular magistrate, who ordered him to be burnt alive; which punishment he suffered with the greatest constancy and resolution. When the executioner was going to light the fire behind him, he

Jerome of Prague signs a recantation;

A.D. 1416.

but retracts, and is condemned as a heretic, and burnt.

called out to him to light it before his face; for if he had been afraid of burning he never would have come to Conſtance (A).

(A) Poggio of Florence, ſecretary of John XXIII. who was then at Conſtance, gives an account of the behaviour of Jerome before the fathers, in an elegant letter to his friend Leonardo, of Arezzo, and ſays, that, though he was ſhut up in a dark and naſty dungeon for three hundred and forty days, where he could not even ſee, yet, upon his trial, he cited ſo many learned and wiſe men, and ſo many doctors of the church, in defence of his opinions, that it would have appeared extraordinary, even though the whole time of his impriſonment had been ſpent in leiſure and ſtudy. He declares that he had never ſeen any whoſe eloquence approached ſo near to that of the ancients; that he anſwered his accuſers with the greateſt wiſdom and confidence; and that, if his faith was the ſame with what he profeſſed, there could not be found againſt him the leaſt cauſe of offence: that he frequently anſwered the reproaches and railings of his opponents by a jeſt or ſarcaſm, which obliged many of the aſſembly to ſmile. On the laſt day of his audience, having with difficulty obtained leave to ſpeak, he mentioned many upright men that had been unjuſtly condemned by wicked judges, particularly Socrates, Plato, Anaxagoras, Zeno, Rutilius, Boethius; then, proceeding to the ſacred ſcriptures, he mentioned Joſeph, almoſt all the prophets, Suſannah, John Baptiſt, our Saviour, Stephen the Martyr; and all the apoſtles, he ſaid, had been condemned, not as being good men, but as deſpiſers of God, and ſeditious ringleaders of the people; that the moſt holy and learned fathers, Auguſtine and Jerome, had differed from one another without being ſuſpected of hereſy. He then mentioned his friend John Huſs, whom he praiſed as a good, juſt, and holy man, who had never preached againſt the doctrines of the church, but againſt the abuſes of the clergy, and the pride and pomp of the prelates, who waſted the patrimony of the church, deſigned for the ſupport of the poor and ſtrangers, upon whores and dogs, and in feaſting, gluttony, and vain apparel. As his diſcourſe was frequently interrupted by the captious objections of his opponents, there was none whom he did not anſwer, and either obliged all to bluſh or to be ſilent. When a noiſe aroſe in the aſſembly he ſtopt, without being diſconcerted, and ſometimes even reproved the authors of the diſturbance, and intreated for leave to ſpeak, as it would be the laſt time they would ever hear him (1).

(1) Pog. Flor. Epiſt. ex Rer. Boem. Script.

The

The duke of Auſtria, having refuſed to obey the monitory, fled from Conſtance, the council informed the emperor of his flight; who immediately put him to the ban of the empire. The twenty-ſecond ſeſſion was held, on the 15th of October, in which was regulated the order of ſitting to be obſerved by the deputies of Arragon and Naples, who had arrived at the council; and it was decreed, that the votes of the deputies of Arragon, together with thoſe of the deputies of Portugal, Caſtile, and Navarre, ſhould have the ſame authority as if all the biſhops of thoſe kingdoms were preſent: by which means a fifth nation was added to thoſe already appointed by the council. In the following ſeſſion, held on the 5th of November, twelve commiſſaries were nominated to determine the manner of proceeding againſt Peter de Luna; and in the next ſeſſion, held on the 18th of the ſame month, a form of citation was read, ſummoning the ſame Peter, as a ſchiſmatic and heretic, to appear within ſeventy days after intimation made to himſelf, or the publication of the ſummons in any church of the dioceſe wherein he reſided. In the two following ſeſſions, held on the 14th and 24th of December, the deputies of the count of Foix and of the king of Navarre were admitted into the council; and a decree was made, ordaining, that no honour or detriment ſhould accrue to any nation by the order of ſitting, debating, or ſubſcribing.

A.D. 1417. *The emperor returns to Conſtance.*

The emperor returned to Conſtance; and in the twenty-ſeventh ſeſſion, held on the 20th of February, the duke of Auſtria was declared guilty of contumacy; and in the next ſeſſion, held on the 3d of March, Frederic and his adherents were excommunicated, for having invaded the poſſeſſions of the church of Trent, and violated his oath to the emperor. The twenty-ninth ſeſſion was held on the 8th of March, the day appointed for the appearance of Peter de Luna; but as he had not obeyed the ſummons, the council declared him contumacious; and, in the thirtieth ſeſſion, the deputies that had been ſent to Spain, informing the aſſembly that they had cited the ſaid Peter perſonally, and received from him an evaſive anſwer, the council immediately approved the withdrawing obedience from him. In the next ſeſſion, held on the 31ſt of March, a monitory was publiſhed againſt Philip Viſconti, count of Virtu, who had thruſt the biſhop of Aſti into priſon; and the biſhop of Bayonne, in Guienne, though appointed by Benedict, was confirmed

by the council, becauſe his competitor, who had been nominated by John XXIII. was lately dead. The five following ſeſſions were wholly employed in diſcuſſing the cauſe of Peter de Luna, who, after ſeveral citations, and examinations of witneſſes againſt him, on the 26th of July, in the thirty-ſeventh ſeſſion, was ſolemnly depoſed, and all Chriſtians were abſolved from yielding him obedience. Before this definitive ſentence was publiſhed, the emperor, with the princes of Germany, and the Engliſh deputies, had endeavoured to prevail with the council to proceed to the reformation of the church; and the marquis of Brandenburgh particularly propoſed, that the clergy of Germany ſhould be prohibited, by a canon, from purchaſing any immoveable poſſeſſions. This motion for a reformation was, however, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the cardinals and the other nations, who urged that it was firſt neceſſary to elect a pope; and each party defending their opinion with great warmth, the council was on the point of being diſſolved. The emperor at length calmed their ſpirits, and, after two ſeſſions ſpent in frivolous diſputes about precedency, in the thirty-ninth ſeſſion, held on the 9th of October, a perpetual decree was made, that, fifteen years after the diſſolution of the council of Conſtance, another ſhould be held, and, within ſeven years after that ſhould be diſſolved, a third ſhould be held, and for ever afterwards councils ſhould be held every ten years; the place of meeting to be appointed by the pope, who ſhould have liberty to contract, but not to lengthen, the term for their convocation; and if a ſchiſm ſhould riſe in the pontificate, within a year after the diſſolution of the council, it ſhould then aſſemble the year after without any citation. In the fortieth ſeſſion, held on the 30th of October, it was decreed, that the future pope, before the diſmiſſion of the council, ſhould reform the church in the head and members; they then proceeded to regulate the form of the election, and ordained, that ſix deputies of each of the nations ſhould enter the conclave, together with the cardinals; and whoever ſhould be choſen, by two-thirds of the cardinals and deputies, ſhould be accounted a true pope. Accordingly, in the forty-firſt ſeſſion, held on the 8th of November, thirty deputies were nominated, and entered the conclave with twenty cardinals of the three obediences. After great diſputes, Otho Colonna, a Roman, and cardinal-deacon of St. George, was choſen pope, on the 11th of November;

Benedict XIII. is depoſed.

Martin V. is elected pope.

ber; who, in honour of the ſaint whoſe feaſt was then celebrated, took the name of Martin V. When the conclave was opened the emperor entered, and proſtrated himſelf at the feet of the pope, who was afterwards conducted to the cathedral church with the greateſt ſolemnity, the emperor and the elector of Brandenburgh holding the reins of his horſe and being followed by a hundred princes, the ambaſſadors of twelve kings, and a whole council.

Martin having notified his election to the Chriſtian princes, on the 28th of December preſided at the forty-ſecond ſeſſion in which Sigiſmund and the duke of Bavaria petitioned to be freed from the keeping of the late pope John. During theſe tranſactions, the Huſſites in Bohemia, in reſentment for the death of John Huſs and Jerome, having deſtroyed a great many monaſteries of the Dominicans, prevailed with the univerſity of Prague to approve their doctrine of communicating under both kinds. Accordingly John, cardinal rector of the univerſity, publiſhed a declaration in the name of the whole body, profeſſing that they did not decide preſumptuouſly againſt the catholic apoſtolic Roman church, nor ſeek to introduce any novelty, but rather adhered to the aſſertion of the council of Conſtance, which had approved the communicating under both kinds, as inſtituted by our Saviour, and long practiſed by the primitive church: they therefore exhorted all thoſe, who were concerned for their ſalvation, to prefer the inſtitution of Chriſt to any edict of men Wenceſlaus being unable, by his own authority, to quell the commotions raiſed by the Huſſites, wrote to his brother Sigiſmond for his aſſiſtance.

The doctrines of the Huſſites approved by the univerſity of Prague.

Mean while Martin ſent the cardinal of Piſa as his legate to Peter de Luna, to exhort him to reſign the pontificate; but Peter, though he was likewiſe ſolicited by ſome of his own cardinals to abdicate, would not conſent, declaring, that he would confer with Martin about the means of reſtoring peace to the church[s]. The council again aſſembling on the 21ſt of March, publiſhed ſome decrees concerning exemptions, firſt-fruits, diſpenſations, ſimony, tithes and other eccleſiaſtical grievances, and concerning the lives and dreſs of the clergy. The pope decreed, that the former ſtatute of the council,

A.D. 1418.

[s] Platina.

about reforming the church, was fully executed (B). In the forty-fourth session, held on the 19th of April, according to a former decree, a future council was appointed to be held at Pavia. Three days after was held the forty-fifth and last session of the council, in which the deputies of the king of Poland, and of the waiwode, or duke of Lithuania, having desired the pope to condemn a certain book containing a great many heretical doctrines, Martin took an occasion from thence of declaring, that he held, and would firmly observe, all the decrees of the council in matters of faith. This his declaration he ordered to be repeated by the advocate of the council, thereby, according to Spondanus, intending to elude giving his consent to those decrees made in the fourth and sixteenth sessions, concerning the superiority of a council above a pope, and its authority of reforming the church in the head and members; which doctrines, according to that writer, ought only to be admitted during a schism, when it is uncertain which of the pretenders to the pontificate is the real pope[t]. A bull, condemning the errors of Wickliffe, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, was then read, together with a form of examining their adherents, and receiving the penitents. Lastly Martin granted a plenary absolution to all those who had attended at the council, both masters and servants; after which it was dissolved by cardinal Rainald, who, by the order of the pope, pronounced these words, "Go in peace;" to which the whole assembly answered, "Amen."

The council of Constance is dissolved.

t Spond. Annal. an. 1418.

(B) Gobelinus Persona relates, that, before the election of Martin, several learned men of each of the nations, by the appointment of the council, drew up a form of reformation of the church, which, after the election of the pope, some nations desired to be confirmed; but as they were not all equally zealous, and the cardinals appeared very backward in that affair, the French nation went to the emperor, and desired him to urge the pope to proceed to a reformation. Sigismund answered, that, while he was earnest that the reformation should precede the election of a pope, they opposed him; therefore, as he had not now the same authority as when the apostolic see was vacant, they ought to apply to the pope (1).

(1) Gobel. Person. Æt. vi. cap. 69. Edit. Meibom. tom. i.

Martin

Martin soon after quitted Constance, and went to Geneva, where he continued till the month of September. He then passed the Alps, and was received with great honour by Philip, duke of Milan, whom he reconciled to Pandulphus Malatesta, lord of Brescia. From thence he proceeded to Mantua, where he continued four months, and sent several legates to the cities of Italy, to reconcile their differences, and facilitate his own journey to Rome. In the beginning of February Martin left Mantua, and went to Florence, by Ravenna and Forli, to avoid Bologna, which had then revolted from the church. He was received by the Florentines with great honour, and resided upwards of eighteen months in that city, till he had established his authority in Italy, and recovered the greatest part of the territories of the church. At his arrival, the castle of St. Angelo, Ostia, and Civita Vecchia, were garrisoned by the Neapolitans, and the Romans had submitted to Brachius, lord of Perugia, who had reduced that city and a great part of the ecclesiastical state; and, as he had served several years under Balthasar Cossa, the late pope John, was a great enemy to Martin. Brachius was soon after expelled from Rome by Sforza Visconti, then constable of Naples; but still refusing to submit to the church, he was excommunicated by Martin. However, the authority of the pope was at that time so weak, that Brachius and his adherents, in their turn, excommunicated his holiness, who was likewise exposed to the scoffs of the common people. By the intercession of the Florentines, Barchius soon after submitted, and came and threw himself at the pope's feet; who appointed him vicar over several of the cities he had formerly usurped. The queen of Naples likewise restored the places which she had seized, and sent her seneschal to Florence, desiring the pope to send a cardinal to Naples, to perform the ceremony of her coronation. Martin granted her request, on condition that she set her husband at liberty; who had been long confined in prison, while she indulged herself openly in lasciviousness [u]. About the same time four cardinals, who had deserted Benedict, came and submitted to the pope; and soon after Balthasar Cossa, who had escaped from the guards that were conducting him into Italy, came and threw himself at his feet, and acknowleged him true pope, and canonically elected. His submission was very acceptable to Martin, who created him cardinal bishop of

A. D. 1419.

The pope returns to Italy, and resides at Florence.

[u] Summont. Hist. Neap. lib. iv. cap. 3.

Tusculum,

Tusculum, and dean of the sacred college: however, he did not long enjoy this return of prosperity, but died a few months after, and was most honourably interred at the expence of his friend Cosmo di Medicis; who, by his means, had raised his fortune to such a degree, as to be accounted, not only the richest citizen of Florence, but of the whole world [w].

A.D. 1420. During these transactions in Italy, the Catholics in Bohemia were miserably oppressed by the Hussites, who had expelled them from Prague, and several other cities of the kingdom, and, since the death of Wenceslaus, had refused to acknowlege his brother Sigismond as their king; because he had previously refused to grant them liberty of conscience (B). Martin being informed of their horrid outrages, at the entreaty of Sigismond, published a crusade against them on the 1st of March, with the usual indulgences [x], and sent legates into Germany to attend the emperor; who, being delivered from his apprehensions of the Turks in Hungary, had raised an army of two hundred thousand men, with which he entered Bohemia, and besieged Prague. But notwithstanding the great superiority of his numbers, he was obliged to raise the siege, and was defeated in five engagements, with the loss of his baggage, provisions, and artillery [y]. The pope, having

The Hussites commit great outrages in Bohemia.

A crusade preached against them.

[w] Platin. [x] Cochlæ. [y] Avent. Annal. Boior. lib. vii. p. 652. See also the History of the German Empire.

(B) Besides the Hussites, who were divided into two sects; namely, those who denied transubstantiation, and those who were called Calixtins, and communicated under both kinds, the sect of Adamites was at this time introduced into Bohemia, by one Pikard, from Holland, who quickly made a great many proselytes of both sexes. Having taken possession of an island surrounded by a river, he called himself Adam, the son of God, and asserted that all others, who were not of this sect, were children of the devil. His followers walked naked, and lived promiscuously; but as they were obliged to plunder others for their subsistence, Zisca, the general of the Hussites, attacked their island, and put them to the sword. There was likewise another sect, who called themselves Orebites, from the mountain Oreb, on which Moses received the law from God. Though they did not entirely agree with the Hussites, yet they were equally zealous enemies to the Catholics, plundering and destroying the monasteries, and burning the monks and priests, or exposing them naked in the middle of winter to the rigours of the season (1).

(1) Æn. cap. 41, 42, 43. Coch. in Hist. Hussit.

received

received an embassy from Manuel the Greek emperor, with an offer of embracing the Latin faith and rites, if reasonable conditions were proposed, he appointed cardinal Fonseca as his legate à latere to go to Constantinople; but he first sent the general of the Dominicans to sound the real disposition of the emperor. Soon after, having recovered Bologna, he erected the church of Florence into a metropolitan, in return for the kind reception he had met with from that city; which he quitted on the 9th of September, and proceeded to Rome, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy [z], the Romans appointing the day of his arrival to be observed as a holiday. A.D. 1421.
Martin immediately caused the city to be repaired and decorated, and applied himself to humanize the Romans, who were become almost barbarous; he was, however, in some measure interrupted in these designs by Brachius of Perugia, who again revolted, and renewed his hostilities in the ecclesiastical state.

They publish a letter in justification of their proceedings.

In the mean time the Hussites, to justify their proceedings, published a letter, accusing the emperor of having violated their privileges, alienated the marquisate of Brandenburgh without the consent of the states, plundered the churches, and carried off the archives of the kingdom: they then proposed four articles, from which they declared they would never recede; namely, the freedom of communicating under both kinds; the preaching of the Gospel without constraint; depriving the clergy of all superfluous endowments; and extirpating, by a reformation, all mortal sin in every rank and dignity. This letter was signed by Conrad, archbishop of Prague, who had espoused their party, and by a great many barons and deputies of the cities; who, a few months afterwards, held a diet, or holy synod, as they called it, at Prague, in which they published twenty-two articles explaining their faith. A.D. 1422.
Ambassadors were likewise sent to Poland to make an offer of their crown to Uladislaus, or Jagellon; but he rejecting the offer, the Hussites applied to the duke of Lithuania, who, being offended at Sigismond, sent his brother Coribut, with a large body of Lithunians and Poles, to the assistance of the rebels, at the same time informing the pope of the reasons why he had taken them into his protection. Martin sent cardinal Branda, bishop of Placenza, as his legate into Germany, to prosecute the war against the Hussites, and wrote to the waiwode, desiring

[z] Leon. Aret. ap. Murator. Platina.

him

him to recall his troops from Bohemia; which request was complied with, in consequence of a new accommodation betwixt the emperor and his cousin the king of Poland.

The Greek emperor desires a general council to be held at Constantinople.

Soon after this transaction Martin received a letter from the emperor of Constantinople, expressing his desire of an union with the Roman church, but refusing to embrace that union by submitting to the faith of the Latin church, as the nuncio declared his ambassadors had asserted at Florence. He requested only that an universal council might be called; that it should assemble at Constantinople, as the Greeks were unable to go elsewhere on account of the incursions of the Turks, and the poverty of the empire; that the pope should furnish the expences of those who attended at the council, as the emperor, at whose charge they formerly assembled, was not able; and lastly, that his holiness would compel those under his obedience, by severe censures, to assist the Greeks in their extremity. What was the consequence of this letter is not mentioned; but, in the following year, Martin celebrated a jubilee at Rome; however, as Italy, Germany, and France were then involved in destructive wars, this solemn festival seems to have been but little attended to. Mean while, as the time for celebrating the council of Pavia now drew near, the pope, with the advice of the cardinals, sent four prelates to that city; who, in the month of May, opened the assembly; at which were present only three other ecclesiastics, namely, two abbots from Burgundy, and a Carmelite friar from the clergy of England [a]. As the plague raged in Pavia, and the fathers did not attend, after two months the pope transferred the council to Sienna, where the first session was opened on the 8th of November. The four prelates that were first sent to Pavia, presided in the name of the pope, and, with the consent of the fathers, confirmed the sentence of condemnation published against heresy at Constance, and likewise made some additions to the bull of Boniface VIII. concerning heretics, ordaining, that whoever expelled them from their territories, or delivered them into the power of the ordinaries or inquisitors, or, when desired, punished them with the secular arm, should enjoy the same indulgences as those who personally visited the Holy Land. As very few prelates came to this council, it was dissolved in the month of February, another being appointed to be held seven years afterwards at Basil, and the necessary

A general council at Pavia.

It is transferred to Sienna.

[a] Spond. Annal. ex Act. Victor. Pithæ de Script. Angl.

reforma-

reformations in the mean time being left to the pope and his cardinals. According to Platina, Martin dissolved the council, to prevent the intrigues of Alphonsus, king of Arragon, who, being offended that his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples were rejected, had sent a deputy to Sienna to revive the cause of Peter de Luna.

About the same time, a war breaking out betwixt the duke of Milan and the Florentines, Martin, in resentment for the assistance given by that republic to Brachius of Perugia, declared for the duke. Having sent an army to assist the queen of Naples against Brachius, who was besieging Aquila, an engagement ensued, on the 2d of June, in which Brachius was entirely routed, and mortally wounded. In consequence of this victory queen Jane, and her adopted son, Lewis III. duke of Anjou, remained in quiet possession of Naples; Martin recovered Perugia, and the other places in the ecclesiastical state that had been usurped by Brachius, and the Florentines were deprived of their chief support against the arms of duke Philip. Not long after the anti-pope Benedict died at Peniscola, in the thirtieth year of his pontificate, having, on his death-bed, bound his followers to elect a successor, under pain of eternal damnation. Accordingly, the two cardinals of his obedience, after his decease, chose Ægidius, a canon of Barcelona, who was compelled by the king of Arragon to accept of the mock dignity, and assumed the name of Clement VIII. Martin, upon hearing of his intrusion, immediately denounced an anathema against him and his adherents, and cited them all to appear at Rome.

A.D. 1424.

The pope joins in a war against the Florentines.

Peter de Luna dies, and is succeeded by Clement VIII.

Mean while his legate, cardinal Branda, having gone with the emperor, and several other princes, to Presburgh, to be present at the coronation of queen Sophia, prevailed with Uladislaus to grant five thousand horse to Sigismond against the Hussites, and to confiscate the possessions of of Coribut, who had again entered Bohemia. Eric, king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and Peter, brother of the king of Portugal, who were both present at the coronation, likewise granted succours to the emperor; but, notwithstanding all these reinforcements, the Hussites were every where victorious, and not only repulsed the Imperialists and crusaders, but, in their turn, invaded Misnia, which they ravaged in a terrible manner [b]. They, however, this year suffered a considerable loss in the death

[b] Cochlæ, lib. v.

of

of their blind and valiant general Ziſca, who died of the plague, after he had agreed to a perſonal conference with the emperor. Martin, in the mean time, earneſtly ſolicited the German princes to a new expedition againſt the Huſſites, and wrote to the emperor, exhorting him to act with vigour againſt them. Being deſirous to extirpate the remains of the ſchiſm, he ſent the cardinal of Foix, as his legate à latere, into Arragon, to prevail with Alphonſus, who was his relation, to deſert the anti-pope. The cardinal, having ſent a nuncio to inform the king of his commiſſion, ſet out on his journey; but, at Charpentiers, he received a letter from Alphonſus, who declared he could not acknowlege him as a legate, till Martin had granted him ſome things which he demanded of him by a ſpecial meſſenger. After two other prohibitions to enter his kingdom, the king at laſt allowed him to act as legate, but under ſuch reſtrictions as were rejected by the cardinal, who left Arragon, and retired to the territories of his brother the count of Foix; from whence he ſent frequent meſſengers to the king, deſiring a conference. The meſſengers returned without receiving any ſatisfactory anſwer from the king, who ſtill kept up his reſentment againſt Martin, and publiſhed an edict, prohibiting the prelates of his kingdom from receiving any apoſtolical letters, or from executing them or thoſe of the legate, under the penalty of forfeiting all their poſſeſſions. The cardinal-legate proteſted againſt this edict, and informed the pope of the king's proceedings; who, on the 15th of July, publiſhed a moſt ſevere ſentence againſt him and his kingdom. About the ſame time he ſent cardinal Nicholas Albergatus, biſhop of Bologna, to mediate a peace betwixt Philip, duke of Milan, and the Florentines and their allies, who prevailed with each of the parties to ſend deputies to Ferrara; where, after three months ſpent in negociation, a treaty was concluded, on the 1ſt of January [c].

A.D. 1425.

Alphonſus is intreated to deſert the anti-pope.

A.D. 1427.

The Huſſites ravage ſeveral provinces of Germany.

Mean while the ſeveral ſects of the Huſſites, namely, the Calixtins, Taborites, Orphans, and Orebites, having, ſince the death of Ziſca, conferred the chief command upon one Procopius, a prieſt, and, for that reaſon, called the Shaven; this general, no leſs intrepid than his predeceſſor, gained a ſignal victory over the duke of Auſtria in his own dominions, and, a few months afterwards, entirely defeated an army of a hundred thouſand Germans,

[c] Pog. Hiſt. Flor. ap. Murat. tom. xx. p. 344.

com-

commanded by the counts of Veideu and Schwartzenſburgh. He afterwards made himſelf maſter of ſome places on the borders of Moravia, and ravaged Auſtria in a terrible manner as far as the Danube. The pope, greatly affected with the miſeries which the catholics ſuffered in Bohemia and Germany, and finding his endeavours to aſſiſt them hitherto ineffectual, on the 16th of March created cardinal Henry, biſhop of Wincheſter, and uncle of the late Henry V. of England, his legate in Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, with full power of cauſing a cruſade to be preached every where againſt the Wickliffites and Huſſites, with the ſame indulgences as the cruſards againſt the Saracens had formerly enjoyed. As Henry had great authority in England, the pope expected large ſuccours from that kingdom; accordingly the cardinal, after ſome diſpute, having obtained leave from the regent of the kingdom to exerciſe his legatine authority [d], publiſhed a cruſade againſt the Huſſites; in conſequence of which he raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, with whom he marched in the following year into Bohemia [e].

The pope's legate treats with the king of Arragon about abandoning the anti-pope.

While the cruſade was preaching in England, the king of Arragon, influenced by the cenſures of the pope, at length, invited the cardinal of Faxi to enter his dominions; and, upon his arrival at Valentia, received him with the greateſt honour and reſpect. Although, two days after, he oppoſed ſome proceedings of the legate by a public edict, yet he was prevailed upon to enter into a negociation with him, in which ſeveral articles were drawn up, containing the mutual demands of both parties; and it was agreed, that the legate ſhould carry them to the pope, and return afterwards to Arragon to terminate the differences. Accordingly, two gallies being provided, the cardinal embarked for Rome, where he arrived on the 8th of January. The demands of Alphonſus were taken into conſideration, and anſwers to each of them were drawn up and ſent to the king; which he did not approve. As the plague at this time raged in Rome, and the cardinals were diſperſed, the accommodation of the differences was delayed, and the whole year was ſpent in reciprocal meſſages and objections [f]. Martin, in the mean time, publiſhed a bull, prohibiting lay officials from uſurping any authority over eccleſiaſtics [g]; and, as

A.D. 1428.

[d] Bzov. hoc ann. Harpſ. ſect. xv. cap. 10 & 20. [e] Michov. Hiſt. Polon. lib. iv. cap. 52. [f] Act. Leg. ap. Bzov. hoc ann. [g] Spond. Annal.

the

the Bologneſe had again revolted from the holy ſee, he ſent an army againſt them, and laid their city under an interdict. In the beginning of the following year he again ſent the cardinal of Thiſci into Arragon, who arrived at Barcelona about the middle of May, where he was received by the king and the prelates with great honour. Alphonſus, nevertheleſs, delayed the conferences upon various pretences; but, at the intreaties of his brother, the king of Navarre, he at length condeſcended to treat. After ſeveral diſputes, the legate refuſing to publiſh his abſolution till he reverſed the decrees againſt the authority of the ſee of Rome, the conferences were broken off; and the king, next day, propoſed to ſet out on an expedition againſt the kingdom of Caſtile. On the morrow, the legate having obtained an audience, the king at laſt conſented to his demands; and his brother and himſelf having received the benediction of the cardinal, immediately departed. Next day the revocation of the king's decrees was publiſhed; and two of his counſellors being appointed to act according to the directions of the legate, went to Peniſcola, where, on the 26th of July, the anti-pope Clement, or Ægidius, in the preſence of his cardinals and court, voluntarily abdicated the pontifical dignity, confirming his abdication by a bull, and exhorting his cardinals to elect another. They accordingly proceeded to an election in the uſual manner, and unanimouſly choſe Otho Colonna, or Martin V. to whom, in the perſon of his legate, all the adherents of the late anti-pope ſubmitted, excepting two cardinals, who, for their obſtinacy, had been thruſt into priſon before the election; however, they ſoon after acknowleged their fault, and aſked pardon.

who, by his voluntary abdication, at laſt terminates the ſchiſm.

END OF THE TWENTY-SECOND VOLUME.

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